Literature of Libraries

in the

Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

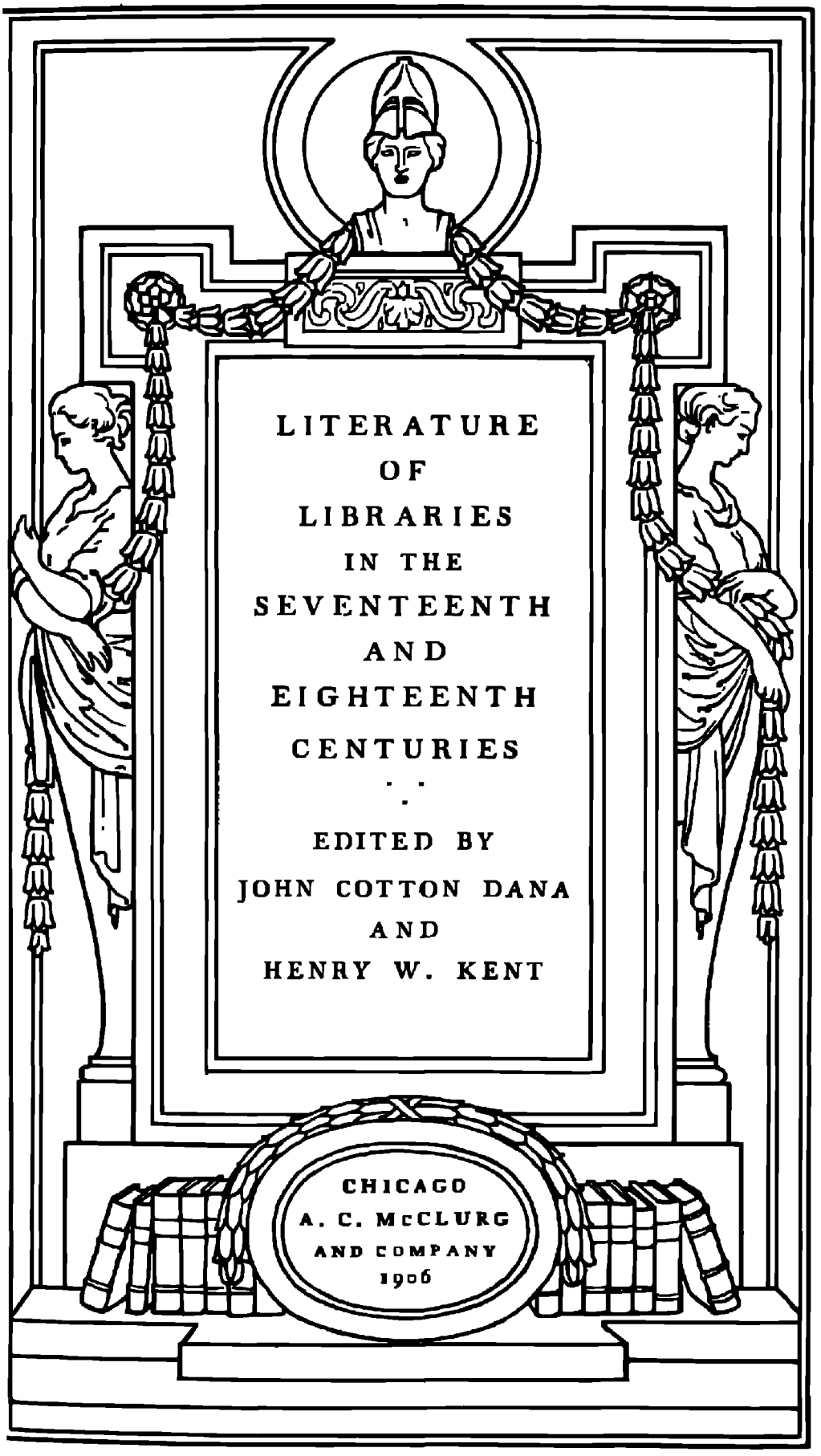
Edited by

John Cotton Dana

and

Henry W. Kent

6 volumes in 1


LITERATURE
OF
LIBRARIES
IN THE
SEVENTEENTH
AND
EIGHTEENTH
CENTURIES
EDITED BY
JOHN COTTON DANA
AND
HENRY W. KENT
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THE DUTIES AND QUALIFICATIONS OF A LIBRARIAN

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THE DUTIES & QUALIFICATIONS OF A LIBRARIAN

A DISCOURSE PRONOUNCED IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE SORBONNE DECEMBER 23 1780

BY

JEAN-BAPTISTE COTTON DES HOUSSAYES



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MDCCCCVI

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

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THE following address was originally spoken in Latin, and when first printed bore the title: "Oratio habita in comitiis generalibus societatis sorbonicæ die 23 decembris 1780 à D D. Joan. Bapt. Cotton des-Houssayes doct. th. pariensi, soc sorbonico, bibliothecæ, sorb. præfecto, sct. Parisiis, proelio Philippi Dionysii Pierres regis typographi ordinarii, 1781." Brunet is the authority for the statement that only twenty-five copies were issued.

The learned bibliophile, Pierre Alexander Gratet Duplessis, recognizing the value of the paper,

and desiring a larger audience for it, translated it into French, and gave it to Jacques Joseph Techener for the "Bulletin du Bibliophile, Petite Revue d'ancien Livres," where it appeared in the number for January, 1839 (*No.* 11, 3^e^ *série*). *It occupied the first place among the bibliographical, philological and literary notices which were under the editorship of Charles Nodier; and the title now appears as, "Discours sur les qualités et les devoirs du bibliothécaire, prononcé dans l'assemblée générale de Sorbonne, le* 23 *décembre* 1780, *par J.-B. Cotton des Houssayes; traduit du latin en françois par un bibliophile." The initials "G. D."*

are signed at the end.

In 1857, *Aug. Aubry reissued this translation exactly as it stood, among the "Variétés Bibliographiques" of his "Bulletin du Bouquiniste"* (17^e *numero*, 1^er *Septembre*), *but with the addition of a preliminary note signed "G. Duplessis." We may assume that the paper aroused the interest it deserved, since it was reissued the same year as an octavo pamphlet of thirteen pages, limited to one hundred copies. The title-page reads as follows:*

Des Devoirs / Et Des Qualités / Du Bibliothécaire / Discours prononcé dans l'Assemblée générale de Sorbonne, / le 23 *décembre* 1780, / *Par J.-B. Cotton*

Des Houssayes; / Traduit Du Latin En Français, Avec Quelques Notes / Par Gratet-Duplessis. [*Printer's mark.*] *Paris / A. Aubry, Libraire-Éditeur, /* 16, *Rue Dauphine.* / 1857

In this form the text is the same as before; but Gratet-Duplessis's connection with the work being explained on the title-page, his name is dropped from the "Préliminaire," and his initials from the translation; and the whole is prefaced by an "Avertissement de l'éditeur," whose name does not appear, but who, we may fairly suppose, was Aubry.

While our chief debt of gratitude must always be due to Duplessis for his perpetuation of so

valuable a contribution to library literature, which otherwise might have been lost to us, we are under no small obligation to the editor of "The Philobiblion, a Monthly Bibliographical Journal," published by George P. Philes & Co., of New York (vol. ii, March, 1863 [number 15]), for a translation of the "Discours" as it appeared in the "Bulletin du Bouquiniste."

This translation was afterwards used, with a slight introduction, under the title "What a Librarian should be" in "The Bibliographer" (vol. iii, December, 1882), "a Journal of Book Lore," published in London by Elliot Stock, and in New York by J. W. Bouton. We find it again under

the title "The Librarians Duties" in "Book-Lore, a Magazine devoted to Old-Time Literature" (vol. ii, June, 1885–November, 1885), London, Elliot Stock, but with the introduction somewhat altered.

The text here presented conforms to the reprint of 1857, and thus includes what "The Philobiblion" omitted, Aubry's note. The translation is partly that of "The Philobiblion" and partly new.

PREFACE

"NOTICE BY THE EDITOR"

THE Discourse on the Qualities and Duties of a Librarian has already been edited by our colleague, J. Techener, in 1839.

The rarity of this treatise is not the only motive which induces us to publish it again, the charm we felt in reading it makes us believe that we ought to share with others the reading of a masterpiece, almost unknown, or at the best forgotten.

The author of the translation, Mr. Gratet-Duplessis,* has given a very happy rendering of the

* *Gratet-Duplessis (Pierre-Alexandre) was born at Janville (Eure-et-Loir)*

Discourse of Cotton des Houssayes. It is impossible to give to his version a more graceful or original turn, or to render with more delicacy the grand and in-

on December 16, 1792.

Although very young, he showed so much intelligence in teaching that he attracted the notice of the government. He was appointed successively principal of Angers' college, inspector of Caen university and rector of the Lyon and Douai academies. Everywhere he proved himself an experienced administrator, everywhere he knew how to make himself loved and obeyed by his loyalty, his independence and his justice.

He early abandoned his university career, in order to give himself up entirely to study. It would be impossible in so short a notice to enumerate the forty-nine productions of Mr. G.-Duplessis;

genious thoughts of the librarian of the Sorbonne.

La Bruyère has said: "Scarcely ever till now has a masterpiece of the intellect been seen which has been the work of several

we will only mention his "Bibliographie parémiologique" (1 *vol.* 8*vo*, *Paris*, 1847), *his edition of the "Maximes de La Rochefoucault"* (1 *vol.* 18*mo*, *Paris*, 1853), *and the "Livre des Miracles de N.-D. de Chartres"* (1 *vol.* 8*vo*, *Chartres*, 1855).

Mr. G.-Duplessis died of an apoplectic stroke in 1853. *He was unanimously regretted. "He was," says Mr. Sainte-Beuve, "the most indefatigable and most disinterested professor of this time, and also the most obliging to every one. Amateur of books in the true sense of the word, he did not only know them thoroughly, but also knew the peculiari-*

people; collaborated work and translations have never revoked this condemnation. Indeed, genius demands unity, great minds understand alone their own thoughts, alone they possess the admirable secret of expressing them in an unparalleled manner. Corneille would probably have translated Shakespeare very badly, and Schiller could never

ties which distinguished them. He was different to most amateurs in this, that he desired rather to know than to possess them."

We will add nothing to this praise. Mr. G.-Duplessis still continues to live with us; we all remember his affability, and no one in the republic of letters can fail to know that he was as much a man of intellect as a man of courage.

have shown the beauties of Corneille. However, these are three tragic writers of the highest order.

To this singular incapacity, which is caused by the diversity of our sentiments, one can only add what Fontenelle said in speaking of our features: "What secret can nature have had to enable her to vary in so many ways so simple a thing as a face."

This apparently insurmountable difficulty has not even been perceived by M^r. Gratet-Duplessis, because in him the Abbé Cotton des Houssayes lives again. He possesses the same modesty, the same urbanity, the same literary erudition. That which the

learned librarian expressed with so much grace and affability has been thought and practised by Mr. Duplessis without other models than his own instincts. This is the secret of this charming treatise, of this translation, which has not even the appearance of one.

We will say nothing of des Houssayes' Discourse; the reader will appreciate it. We can only wish that all the principles which he here includes should become the rule of conduct of all librarians. They would lose nothing by it, and the public would gain much.

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

THE short discourse of which we here offer to our readers a translation, has never received a great degree of publicity. Delivered in Latin, before a grave meeting of learned doctors, it was designed, undoubtedly, for none but the friendly ears of the venerable assembly to which it was addressed. A learned printer,—of a class sufficiently numerous in times past, and of which we are fain to believe, without, however, venturing to affirm, there may even yet be found a few, *rari nantes*,—a printer to the King, Monsieur Pierres, divined

the merit of the tract, and was unwilling that so elegant a composition should be wholly condemned to forgetfulness: and in this he manifested both good taste and discernment. He therefore obtained the author's permission to print a few copies of it, solely for the use of those who were friendly to bibliographical studies. The number of these privileged amateurs was quite limited, and we are nearly certain that there are hardly more than twenty-five copies existing of this original edition of the *Discours de l'Abbé Cotton des Houssayes*. It makes a small octavo pamphlet of eight pages, printed with great care on beau-

tiful fine paper. The copy before us, which we have used for this translation, was presented to the celebrated Abbé de Saint-Léger by the publisher, whose *envoi* and signature it bears.

The author of this little almost unknown *chef-d'œuvre* is scarcely known himself except to the literary profession; since he belonged to the race, almost wholly extinct at this day, of modest and laborious scholars who cultivate learning for its own sake, and find more pleasure in adorning and strengthening their minds in the silence of the cabinet, than satisfaction in taking the universe into confidence in their smallest labours

or most insignificant discoveries. The Abbé Cotton des Houssayes was born near Rouen, November 17, 1727, and died at Paris, August 20, 1783. The greater part of his life was passed at Rouen, in the employment of teaching; and he was uniformly distinguished as one of the most active and enlightened members of the Academy of the Palinods. He came to reside at Paris and the Sorbonne about the year 1776.

The Abbé Cotton des Houssayes conceived the project of a grand bibliographical work, which was to appear under the title, *Histoire Littéraire Universelle*, or *Bibliothèque Raisonnée*,

the plan of which may be found in the *Année Littéraire* for 1780, and in the *Journal des Savants* for 1781; but the project was never executed. The Abbé has left behind him only some eulogies and a few poetical pieces, which are contained in the printed collections of the Academy of Rouen.

The following discourse is perhaps the most finished of his works. It seems, in fact, scarcely possible to bring together more happily so many thoughts in so limited a space, and not less difficult to present them with greater precision and elegance. We have endeavoured to make our translation worthy of so perfect an original.

DISCOURSE

DISCOURSE

ON THE DUTIES AND QUALIFICATIONS OF A LIBRARIAN

TO receive a public testimony of esteem from an assembly of illustrious personages, whose merit places them above eulogium, has always appeared to me the highest and most glorious of distinctions. On learning that your suffrages had designated me as the guardian of your library, I experienced some difficulty, I must confess, in subduing a slight feeling of presumption; but reflection soon gave me to understand, that what you desired by this circumstance to honour and reward in me was

not successes, which my labours had not obtained, but some feeble efforts which you had deigned to appreciate.

When I reflect, indeed, on the qualifications that should be united in your librarian, they present themselves to my mind in so great a number, and in such a character of perfection, that I distrust my ability not only to enumerate, but also to trace a true picture of them; for it cannot be denied, gentlemen, that the Society of the Sorbonne, so justly celebrated in all Europe, or, more properly, throughout the world, for the depth no less than for the extent of its erudition, ought, as it has hitherto done, to present to the learned

world, in the person of its librarian, none other than one of those privileged men, capable of proving himself, upon occasion, instructed to the same degree in profane as in sacred learning,—familiar with the researches of the highest erudition, and with the productions of a more ephemeral and less elevated literature.

Your librarian, gentlemen, is in some sort your official representative. To him is remitted the deposit of your glory. To him is intrusted, as a duty, the important mission of maintaining, and even of increasing, if that be possible, and as far as his ability will admit,—of increasing, I repeat, your brilliant reputation when-

ever a stranger, illustrious by birth or his scientific merit, or doubly illustrious, perhaps, by both of these titles, comes to the Sorbonne with a curious, a learned, or even with a jealous eye, to examine the precious theological and literary treasures of your library, and to draw from it wherewith to increase his own riches. Thus, therefore, your librarian should be, above all, a learned and profound theologian; but to this qualification, which I shall call fundamental, should be united vast literary acquisitions, an exact and precise knowledge of all the arts and sciences, great facility of expression, and, lastly, that exquisite politeness which concili-

ates the affection of his visitors while his merit secures their esteem.

A librarian truly worthy of the name should, if I may be permitted the expression, have explored in advance every region of the empire of letters, to enable him afterwards to serve as a faithful guide to all who may desire to survey it. And though it is by no means my intention to give the preference above all other sciences to the science of bibliography, which is nothing more than an exact and critical acquaintance with the productions of the intellect, it will nevertheless be permitted me to consider this science as the forerunner of all the others,—as their

guide, who is to light them with his torch,*—nearly as a devoted and dutiful son precedes his father, to secure and facilitate his progress by throwing light upon his path. Thus the superintendent of a library, whatever be its character, should be no stranger to any department of learning: sacred and profane literature, the fine arts, the exact sciences, all should be familiar to him. A diligent and indefatigable student, ardently devoted to letters, his sole and abiding aim should be to make sure their advancement. Especially should the superintendent of such a library as yours,—which is not, by right, designed for the public,—if he desires to increase the

reputation of the illustrious society which he represents,—if he also desires to give proofs of its devotion to learning—receive all its visitors whether scholars or the simply curious, with an assiduous attention so polite and kindly, that his reception shall appear to each one the effect of a distinction purely personal. He will never seek to steal away from the notice of all into some solitary or unknown retreat. Neither cold nor heat, nor his multiplied occupations, will ever be to him a pretext for evading the obligation he has contracted to be a friendly and intelligent guide to all the scholars who may visit him. Forgetting himself, on the contrary,

and laying aside all occupations, he will lead them forward with a cheerful interest, taking pleasure in introducing them to his library; he will examine with them all its parts and divisions; every thing precious or rare that it may contain he will himself put before them. Should a particular book appear to be even of passing interest to one of his guests, he will quickly seize the occasion, and obligingly place it at his service; he will even, moreover, have the delicate attention to lay open before him all the books relating to the same subject, in order to make his researches easier and more complete. When parting from the stranger whom he has just

received, he will not fail to thank him for his visit, and to assure him that the institution will always feel honoured by the presence of a man whose labours cannot but contribute to its renown. The custodian of a literary deposit should especially guard himself against that unfortunate disposition which would render him, like the dragon in the fable, jealous of the treasures entrusted to his keeping, and lead him to conceal from the inspection of the public riches which had been brought together solely with the view of being placed at its disposition. What, moreover, would be the object of these precious collections, gathered at so great expense by for-

tune or by science, if they were not consecrated, according to the intention of their generous founders, to the advancement, the glory, and the perfection of science and literature?

But that a library may fully attain the end of its foundation,—that it may be in reality useful, and useful with equal certainty and facility,—it should be administered by a librarian distinguished for soundness of judgement no less than for the readiness and accuracy of his memory. Men would love to find in him, not that vain and imperfect bibliographical knowledge that attaches itself merely to the surface, much less the narrow preferences inspired by the spirit

of party, or those exclusive predilections that border upon mania; but an erudition at once ample and considerate, which has solely in view the advancement of knowledge, and which is ever able to distinguish, with equal taste and accuracy, original works that are worthy to be proposed as models, from those equivocal productions justly condemned to forgetfulness for their mediocrity. He will therefore not admit indiscriminately every book into his collection, but will select such only as are of genuine merit and of well-approved utility; and his acquisitions, guided by the principles of an enlightened economy, will be rendered still more valuable by

the substantial merits of an able classification. It is impossible, in fact, to attach too much importance to the advantages resulting from an intelligent and methodical order in the arrangement of a library. Of what utility would be the richest treasures if it were not possible to make use of them? Wherefore this complete arsenal of science, if the arms it keeps in reserve are not within reach of those who would wield them? And if, as is said, books are *the medicine of the soul*, what avail these intellectual pharmacopoeias, if the remedies which they contain are not disposed in order and labelled with care?

In thus considering, gentlemen, all the various attainments

that should characterize a librarian, will any one now wonder at the consideration which has ever been, and still is, accorded to men honoured with this title? Will he wonder to see at Rome, at the head of the Library of the Vatican, a learned Cardinal, equally distinguished for his immense erudition, and for superior merit in every department? Will he be surprised, in short, that in all ages, and even in our own time, the greater part of the scholars charged with the administration of libraries have shone with so much brilliancy in the empire of letters? And if I wished to give to my words the authority of example, I should have to name here only a few

of those who have preceded me in the walk that has just been opened to me; I should content myself with citing the name of the venerable man whose place I supply, and whose retirement, caused by infirmities, inspires you with such poignant regrets. But for fear of exposing myself to the reproach of adulation,—though my praise would be but the expression of truth,—I shall endeavour to be silent. I shall not attempt further to lay open before you, as Naudé formerly did, the particular catalogue of librarians who rendered themselves distinguished; but you will at least permit me to recall to you the names of the illustrious Cardinals Quirini and

Passionei;† that of Naudé,‡ who deserves particular mention, that of Muratori,§ that admirable prodigy of learning, whose writings in every department of learning would of themselves alone form a library; and, finally, the name of Franck,‖ whose *Catalogue of the Library of Bunau* has always seemed to me the first and most perfect of all the works devoted to bibliography.

Thus, gentlemen, when the numerous duties of the librarian, and the consideration habitually attached to that title, present themselves to my mind, I have been surprised, as I still am, at having been the object of your suffrages; and my surprise is

increased when I reflect that a single circumstance was the cause of the honourable preference which you have been pleased to accord me: I mean the assiduity with which I visited your library, during a spring and summer, for the purpose of silently selecting from it the documents needed to conduct to their conclusion some theological and literary labours, which I shall consider brought almost to perfection if they result in causing me to appear even in a moderate degree worthy of the honours which you have been pleased to confer upon me.

I therefore truly appreciate, gentlemen, all the honour of the glorious burden which you have

just imposed upon me; but I feel, at the same time, how much it is beyond my strength, as well by its own nature as by the duties which circumstances may further add to it. But I venture to hope that your kindness will sustain my weakness; I shall have to support me your counsels, which I shall ever make it a duty to follow. Your spirit, your hands even, I am fain to believe, will aid me in arranging, in ornamenting, in maintaining, in enlarging your library; and what remains to me yet of vigour, what remains to me yet of a life which is advancing rapidly to its decline, I have firmly resolved shall be devoted to the task of proving my-

self in all respects worthy of the honours which you have been pleased to confer upon me, and the confidence you have placed in me, of which I trust you will never have cause to repent. Thus, gentlemen, all my cares, all my efforts, all my studies, will be devoted to the sole object of proving the deep gratitude with which your goodness has inspired me, of which I shall never lose the remembrance.

NOTES

NOTES

* *Notitia librorum est dimidium studiorum, et maxima eruditionis pars exactam librorum habere cognitionem.* "*An acquaintance with books abridges by one-half the path of knowledge; and he is already well advanced in learning who knows with exactness the works that contain it.*"—*Gaspar Thurmann, quoted by the Abbé Rive,* "*Prospectus d'un ouvrage publié par souscription,*" *page* 59, *notes.*

† *These two Cardinals were both librarians of the Vatican, and both foreign members of the French Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-lettres.*

Quirini, or rather Querini, was born at Venice, March 30, 1680, *and died January* 6, 1759. *His eulogy, by Lebeau, may be found in volume xxvii of* "*Memoires de l' Academie des Inscriptions.*"

Passionei (*Dominick*) — *born December* 2, 1682, *deceased July* 5, 1761 — *succeeded Querini in the office of librarian of the Vatican. He was a man passionately devoted to letters, and somewhat vehement in character. At the conclave of* 1758, *he was on the point of being elected Pope: he had obtained eighteen votes; but the fears inspired by the inequality of his temper caused him to be set aside. His eulogy may be found in volume xxxi of "Mémoires de l'Académie."*

‡ *Naudé* (*Gabriel*), *a learned bibliographer, who may be regarded as in fact the creator of the Mazarine Library, was born at Paris, February* 2, 1600, *and died in the prime of his life, July* 29, 1653. *Some particulars concerning him, equally curious and reliable, may be found in a work by M. Petit-Radel, entitled "Recherches*

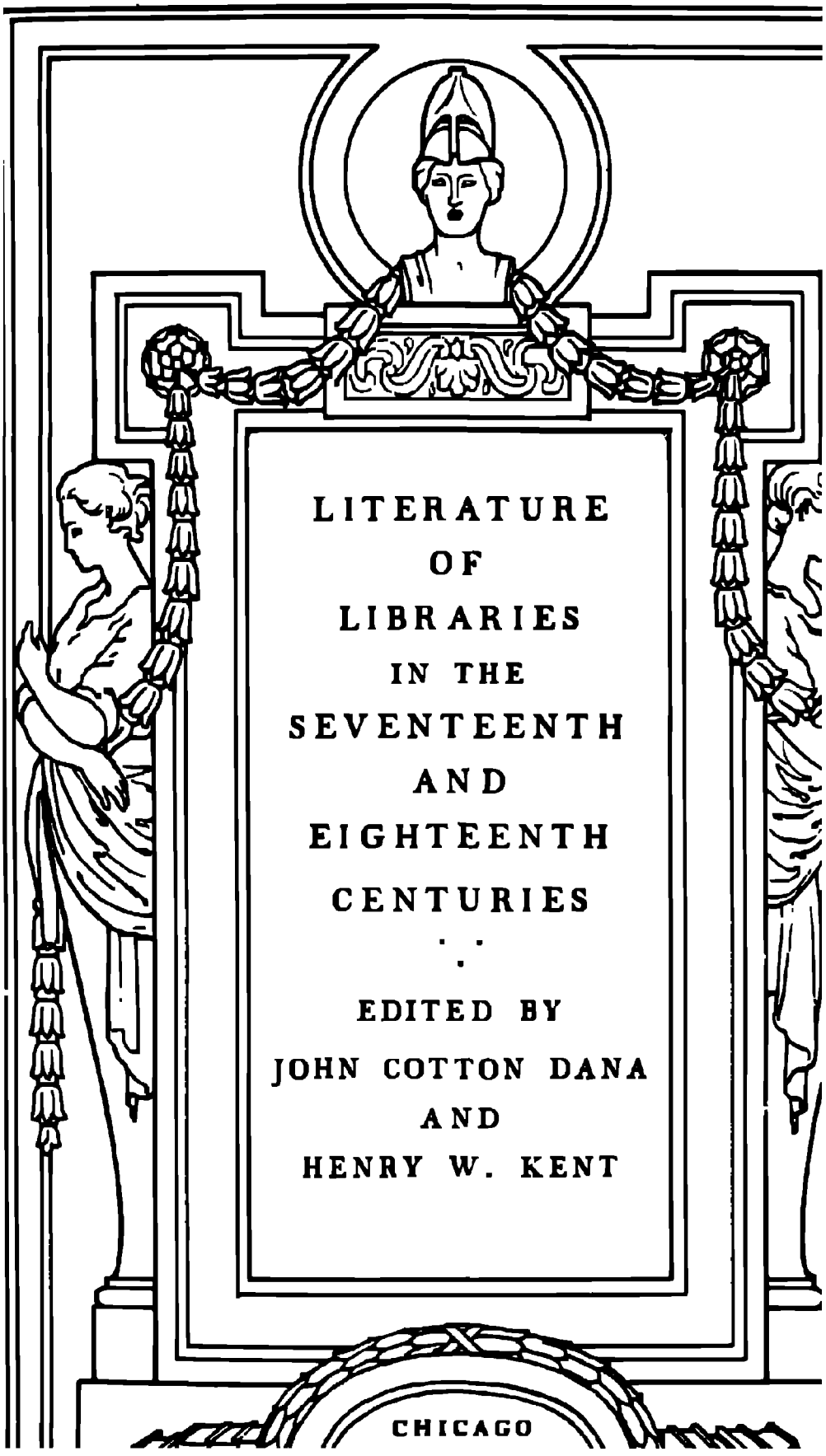
sur les Bibliothèques Anciennes et Modernes" (*Paris*, 1819, 8*vo*). *Naudé was the dearest and most constant friend of the learned and caustic Guy-Patin; and, such an intimacy existing, it is difficult to explain how he could be the eulogist of the Saint Bartholomew.*

"Le Sage dit, selon les gens, etc."

§ *Muratori* (*Louis-Antoine*) *was born October* 21, 1672, *in the duchy of Modena, and died January* 23, 1750. *This indefatigable scholar left sixty-four works, which form a collection of thirty-six volumes quarto, published at Arezzo*, 1767–80; *or a selection of forty-eight volumes octavo, published at Venice*, 1790–1810.

‖ *Franck or Franke* (*Jean-Michel*) *was born in* 1717, *in Upper Saxony, and died June* 19, 1775. *His* "*Catalogue de la Bibliotheque du Comte de Bunau,*" *Leipsic*, 1750–6, *in seven vol-*

umes quarto, is a master piece of patience and bibliographical learning. Unfortunately for science, this work was not wholly completed. Franck merits in every respect the praise bestowed upon him by the author of the Discourse; and it would be gratifying if all the editors of catalogues — though it would be too much to exact of them the power of this able bibliographer — would at least take him for a model before commencing their work.



LITERATURE OF LIBRARIES IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

EDITED BY

JOHN COTTON DANA

AND

HENRY W. KENT

CHICAGO

THE
REFORMED
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An Edition of two hundred and fifty copies in this form and of twenty-five copies on Large Paper were printed at The Merrymount Press, Boston, in July, 1906

THE
REFORMED
LIBRARIE-KEEPER

OR

TWO COPIES OF LETTERS
CONCERNING
THE PLACE AND OFFICE OF
A LIBRARIE-KEEPER

BY

JOHN DURY



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MDCCCCVI

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

JOHN DURY

1596–1680

IF ancestry counts in determining a man's career, John Dury could not easily have escaped following in the footsteps of his father and grandfather, and entering the ministry.

His grandfather was that John Dury (1537–1600) who, as a monk of Dunfermline suspected of heresy, was ordered to be shut up till death, the sentence being pronounced by his cousin, George Dury, abbot of Dunfermline, to whose hatred of the new doctrines many of the persecutions that took place in Scotland during this stormy period

of history may be traced. At the time of the Reformation, John Dury made his escape and became an exhorter and later a Presbyterian minister, and devoted adherent of John Knox.

He married Marion, daughter of Sir John Majoribanks, provost of Edinburgh, and the second of their three sons, all in the Presbyterian ministry, was Robert,* the father of our John.

The life of an earnest and con-

* *There is no real reason to doubt this relationship, although James Melville, who was son-in-law of John Durie, and an intimate friend and companion of Robert Durie, never explicitly mentions it.—Dictionary of National Biography.*

scientious Presbyterian divine of the sixteenth century was likely to be a strenuous one, and the first John Dury did not escape the rigours of the law. A man of singular strength of character and devoutness, he was a sturdy fighting Scotchman withal, conspicuous in the conflicts between the Church and the king. Becoming a minister in Edinburgh in 1573, he was twice banished from the city, and once imprisoned in Edinburgh castle. Returning from one of his banishments he was met at Leith by the people of Edinburgh, who marched him up to the city, and along the High Street, singing the 124th Psalm ("If it had not

been the Lord who was on our side") in four parts, "showing not only their attachment to their minister, but their skill in psalmody."

Although a man of no great learning, his preaching was forceful and to the point, and his words, like his deeds, carried weight. A letter from Henry Woddrington to Secretary Walsingham describes a service conducted by Dury. After mentioning with satisfaction that he prayed the Lord either to convert or confound the Duke of Guise, Woddrington writes: "The sermon was very longe, godly and plaine, to the great comfort and rejoice of the most

nombre that herd yt, or doe here of yt."

He was an athlete as well as a preacher, for James Melville, the Scottish reformer, who married Dury's daughter Elizabeth, tells us that "the gown was no sooner off and the Bible out of hand in the kirk, when on went the corselet and up fangit [snatched up] was the hagbut, and to the fields." Melville writes, too, of his father-in-law that he prayed and communed with God in so remarkable a manner that he counted it one of the privileges of his life that he had come in contact with this manly, fearless and earnest soul. John Dury died in 1600,

"in a manner becoming the life which he had spent;" and his friend Andrew Melville, uncle of James, honoured his memory in many Latin epitaphs in praise of his courageous opposition to the king and court.

Robert Dury was a worthy son of his father, and threw himself zealously into work for the Scottish Church. Besides faithful labour for his parishes of Abercrombie and Anstruther, he made missionary visits to the island of Lewis, the Shetland Islands, and the Orkneys, where a desire for Protestantism was beginning to manifest itself.

As courageous as conscientious, he did not hesitate, in 1605,

to attend as a member the General Assembly at Aberdeen which the king had prohibited. For this he was summoned before the Privy Council and ultimately banished with five others, their conduct during the trial gaining the highest esteem and admiration. Driven from his home in the midst of the severities of a Scottish winter, Robert Dury, with his large family of young children, sought refuge in Holland, that haven for the oppressed of the seventeenth century, and was made first minister of the Scottish Church at Leyden, where he died eleven years later.

Although but four years old when his grandfather died, John

Dury's childish recollection of that honest, sturdy character had doubtless been strengthened and deepened by fireside tales of imprisonment and escape, banishment and recall, and all the storm and stress of that life of religious conflict, both as monk and minister. A lad of nine when his father was banished, he was yet old enough to understand the cause, and to feel rebellious resentment against the war of sects that made such injustice possible. What wonder that he early felt yearnings for Christian unity and that the opportunity, when it came, found him ready to devote to the cause the labours of half a century!

A minister by every inclination, as well as by family tradition, John Dury was yet made of gentler stuff than his father and grandfather, and worthily won for himself the title of the "Great peacemaker of the seventeenth century."

His father sent him to his intimate friend and fellow-exile, Andrew Melville, to be educated for the ministry at Sedan, and the great scholar, always paying particular attention to his fellow-countrymen at the university, seems to have had a special interest in young Dury. The friendly relations between master and pupil are testified to by the following extract from a let-

ter written by Melville to the father at Leyden, who was eagerly looking for a favourable report of his son: "Receive fra this bearer, your sonne John, his oration with thanks, and great hope he shall be a good instrument after our departing."*

Leaving Sedan, John continued his studies at Leyden, and later went to Oxford. In 1628 we find him ministering to a congregation of British merchants at Elbing in West Prussia. There he fell in with Dr. Godeman, a civil judge and privy councillor of Gustavus Adolphus, who held West Prussia at the time. It is

**Life of Andrew Melville, by Thomas M'Crie. Edinburgh, 1824, ii, 529.*

through the influence of this Dr. Godeman that the thoughts which must have long been taking shape in Dury's mind seem to have finally crystallized, for the privy councillor invited him to coöperate in an effort to bring about ecclesiastical peace among Protestants, and Dury eagerly threw himself into the enterprise, which had received the ready sanction of Gustavus Adolphus.

It happened that Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador, was at Elbing, and he entered into the scheme to reconcile the Lutherans and the Reformed churches with lively interest. He persuaded the great Oxenstiern

to use his influence with the Lutheran clergy, and advised Dury to go to England and lay his plans before the prelates, recommending him to Charles I, and influencing in his favour both the Puritan Archbishop Abbott and Bishop Laud. Dury was successful in England in so far that he was authorized to carry to Prussia the assurance of the coöperation of the English clergy in the recommendations that all parties abstain from disputes in the pulpit, from calling hard names and disturbing legal ceremonies of worship.

After a visit to Gustavus Adolphus, Dury undertook a tour of the Continent (1631–3), attend-

ing, with unfailing zeal, courts and churches, state assemblies and synods. Dr. Charles A. Briggs had the good fortune, a few years ago, to discover in London the manuscript of Dury's "Summarie Relation" of this journey, with its vivid description of Europe during the Thirty Years' War, and published it in the *Presbyterian Review* for April, 1887, together with a short account of the author's noble work for Christian union.

The death of the great Swede at Lützen was a blow to Dury's hopes, for Oxenstiern refused to give formal sanction to his plan for a general assembly of evangelical churches, and in 1633

he returned to England, discouraged and burdened with debt. Being told that he must accept Episcopal ordination in order to carry on his work of pacification as a representative of the English Church, he was ordained the year after his return, not, however, renouncing his previous ordination. He was made one of the king's chaplains, and received a small living, which, we are told, cost him more for a curate than he received himself. Not long content to abstain from active labour for his beloved cause, we find him soon after his ordination attending the Frankfort Assembly, and the following year was

devoted to work in the Netherlands.

"Never, perhaps, was there such an example of zeal and perseverance as that exhibited by Duraeus, who, during the space of forty years, suffered vexations and underwent labours which required the firmest resolution and the most inexhaustible patience, wrote, exhorted, admonished, entreated and disputed: in a word, tried every method that human wisdom could suggest to put an end to the dissensions and animosities that reigned among the Protestant churches."* We have

* *An Ecclesiastical History, by J. L. von Mosheim. London*, 1842, *ii*, 180–2.

glimpses of him in Sweden, ill in bed but ordered out of the kingdom by Queen Christina; visiting Denmark without success; holding meetings at Oldenburg, Hainault and Hamburg; planning treaties of alliance by the aid of Calixtus; passing through Holland, and sending letters to France and Switzerland. Though his undertaking was generally approved, he found few who were seriously disposed to give active assistance to his work.

Returning once more to England, Dury attached himself to the Royalist party, and a little later was sent to The Hague as tutor and chaplain to Princess

Mary of Orange, who, according to the terms of her marriage contract of the previous year, was taken to Holland by her mother, Henrietta Maria, to join her husband in 1642, having reached her twelfth year. Conditions at The Hague, together with the uncompromising disposition of the high-spirited little princess, made Dury's position an uncomfortable one, and he resigned it before Mary was fully installed in her position; but perhaps some of the pathetic gravity, ease and decorum with which, shortly afterwards, at the mature age of thirteen, she gave audiences, received ambassadors, and mingled in court festivities may

be attributed to the gentle teachings of this kindly master.

Summoned home to attend the Assembly of Divines, Dury was one of those who drew up the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechism.

He had met with some success and made some friends in Ireland, among them Lady Catherine Ranelagh, and in the spring of 1645, when nearly fifty years old, he was married to an Irish lady, aunt to this Lady Ranelagh, who took much interest in his work, and who owned an estate worth £400 a year, most of which went, when it was forthcoming at all, toward providing a garrison for Parliament against

the so-called rebels in Ireland. Their only child, Dora Katherina, married in her early twenties the somewhat austere scholar and scientist, Henry Oldenburg, a man of twice her years, who had been tutor to her young kinsman, Richard, Earl of Ranelagh. There is a record that she brought him an estate in the marshes of Kent worth £60 a year, inherited from her father.

But what has all this to do with *The Reformed Librarie-Keeper*, and when in his incessant round of journeyings, disputations and correspondence did John Dury find time to study library economy? A small incident, summed up in a few

lines or entirely unnoticed in most accounts of his life, scarcely realized beside the greatness of his life work, explains the connection.

In 1649 Bulstrode Whitelock was appointed keeper of the king's medals and library, which latter he had previously prevented from being sold "rather . . . because he was put upon it by Selden and other learned men than that he himself, being accounted learned, took great delight in such matters."* Not always having leisure to attend to his new duties, Whitelock, we read, "had a deputy allowed

* *Athenae Oxonienses, by Anthony à Wood. London*, 1813–20, *iii*, 1043.

him, and one John Dury, a traveller, did the drudgery of the place." Dury had lodgings assigned him at St. James's, and, in spite of the "drudgery," must have found this peaceful interim in his wearying life not entirely unpleasing. At all events, he seems to have taken a thorough interest in his work, and made a careful study of what the right-minded librarian should be, and we can have no doubt that the king's library was "kept" carefully and well during his short administration.

He recommends what we should call a civil service examination to determine a librarian's fitness for his position; is

hot against "graft" in the profession; insists that a librarian should be a "Factor and Trader for helps to learning," "a Treasurer to keep them, and a dispenser to apply them to use;" gives keen hints for advantageous buying and wise selection; advises yearly reports and a judicious keeping in touch with the board of directors, influencing them to use their knowledge of various branches for the needs of the library; would have his books well classified and catalogued; condemns the Heidelberg library, whose vast resources are like unto the talent which the man hid in the ground. But above all, and ever recur-

ring, is the idea of stewardship and faithful service. Have library ideals yet reached the standard set by old John Dury?

Dury set forth his notions of "librarie-keeping" in two letters to his friend, Samuel Hartlib, that philanthropic writer on education and husbandry, to whom Milton addressed his treatise on education. Hartlib published the letters, together with Dury's *Supplement to the Reformed-School*, a Latin description of the Wolfenbüttel Library, and John Pell's *Idea of Mathematics*, in 1650, the year of Dury's appointment at St. James's. The tiny volume was printed by William Dugard,

shortly after his release, through Milton's efforts, from Newgate, where he had been imprisoned for printing Salmasius's defence of King Charles.

Libraries did not occupy all of Dury's attention in 1650, for at least nine other works were published by him in that year, the last being a plea in his own defence, entitled, *The unchanged, constant and singlehearted Peacemaker*. For Dury did not escape bitter animosity and attacks from those who suspected his extraordinary zeal to arise from "mysterious and sinister motives," and from bitter partisans like Prynne, who called forth the above-mentioned de-

fence by publishing a tract called *The time-serving Proteus and ambidexter divine uncased to the world.*

Four years later, Dury started again on his travels, this time with the approbation of Cromwell, an alliance which brought upon him many reproaches. But it mattered little to John Dury whether king or protector ruled if he saw any chance of furthering his work of pacification. With this thought only at heart, after the Restoration he sought the favour of Charles II, but his action under the Commonwealth was remembered, and his letters and plea for an interview were disregarded.

Disappointed, but not utterly cast down, he went to Cassel, where the Landgrave of Hesse, and afterwards the Landgrave's widow, favoured his plans and protected him. From his home in Cassel, he continued his labours, travelling back and forth throughout Germany until his death in 1680. But his later years were full of discouragement and disappointment. "The only fruit," he cried, "which I have reaped by all my toils is that I see the miserable condition of Christianity, and that I have no other comfort than the testimony of my conscience."

In spite of his life of almost unceasing active labour, Dury

found time to publish about fifty books and tracts, most of them bearing directly or indirectly upon the subject dearest to his heart. While his English is excellent, he seems to have been almost equally ready with French and Latin, and was everywhere noted for his extensive learning. Men like Baxter, Bishop Hall and Robert Boyle were his warm admirers, and bear witness to his universal benevolence, perseverance and solid piety. He had some leanings toward the Mystics and Quakers, and in his later years widened his scheme of unity to embrace all Christians, Protestant and Roman Catholic.

"John Dury died," says Dr. Briggs, "without seeing the fruit of his life-long labours, but he did not live and work in vain. Like Richard Baxter, James Ussher and John d'Avanant, he was the prophet of a better age of the world. He was sowing the seed and preparing the germs of Christian toleration, liberty and union that have unfolded in later times," and he worthily takes his place among the "heroes of the seventeenth century, who laboured so faithfully and so well."

RUTH SHEPARD GRANNISS

THE
FIRST LETTER

THE

FIRST LETTER

THE LIBRARIE-KEEPER's place and Office, in most Countries (as most other Places and Offices both in Churches and Universities) are lookt upon, as Places of profit and gain, and so accordingly sought after and valued in that regard; and not in regard of the service, which is to bee don by them unto the Common-wealth of Israël, for the advancement of Pietie and Learning; for the most part, men look after the maintenance, and livelihood setled upon their Places, more then upon the end and usefulness of their emploiments; they seek

themselvs and not the Publick therein, and so they subordinate all the advantages of their places, to purchase mainly two things thereby viz. an easie subsistence; and som credit in comparison of others; nor is the last much regarded, if the first may bee had; except it bee in cases of strife and debate, wherein men are over-heated: for then indeed som will stand upon the point of Honor, to the hazard of their temporal profits: but to speak in particular of Librarie-Keepers, in most Universities that I know; nay indeed in all, their places are but Mercenarie, and their emploiment of little or no use further, then to look to the Books committed to their

custodie, that they may not bee lost; or embezeled by those that use them: and this is all.

I have been informed, that in Oxford (where the most famous Librarie now exstant amongst the Protestant-Christians is kept,) the setled maintenance of the Librarie-keeper is not above fiftie or sixtie pound *per annum;* but that it is accidentally, *viis & modis* somtimes worth an hundred pound: what the accidents are, and the waies by which they com, I have not been curious to search after; but I have thought, that if the proper emploiments of Librarie-keepers were taken into consideration as they are, or may bee made useful to the advance-

ment of Learning; and were ordered and mainteined proportionally to the ends, which ought to bee intended thereby; they would bee of exceeding great use to all sorts of Scholars, and have an universal influence upon all the parts of Learning, to produce and propagate the same unto perfection. For if Librariekeepers did understand themselvs in the nature of their work, and would make themselvs, as they ought to bee, useful in their places in a publick waie; they ought to becom Agents for the advancement of universal Learning: and to this effect I could wish, that their places might not bee made, as everie where they are, Mer-

cenarie, but rather Honorarie; and that with the competent allowance of two hundred pounds a year; som emploiments should bee put upon them further then a bare keeping of the Books. It is true that a fair Librarie, is not onely an ornament and credit to the place where it is; but an useful commoditie by it self to the publick; yet in effect it is no more then a dead Bodie as now it is constituted, in comparison of what it might bee, if it were animated with a publick Spirit to keep and use it, and ordered as it might bee for publick service. For if such an allowance were setled upon the emploiment as might maintain a man of parts and generous thoughts,

then a condition might bee annexed to the bestowing of the Place; that none should bee called thereunto but such as had approved themselvs zealous and profitable in som publick waies of Learning to advance the same, or that should bee bound to certain tasks to bee prosecuted towards that end, whereof a List might bee made, and the waie to trie their Abilities in prosecuting the same should bee described, least in after times, unprofitable men creep into the place, to frustrate the publick of the benefit intended by the Doners towards posteritie. The proper charge then of the Honorarie Librarie-Keeper in an Universitie should bee thought

upon, and the end of that Imploiment, in my conception, is to keep the publick stock of Learning, which is in Books and Manuscripts to increas it, and to propose it to others in the waie which may bee most useful unto all; his work then is to bee a Factor and Trader for helps to Learning, and a Treasurer to keep them, and a dispenser to applie them to use, or to see them well used, or at least not abused; And to do all this, First a *Catalogue*, of the Treasurie committed unto his charge is to bee made, that is all the Books and Manuscripts, according to the Titles whereunto they belong, are to bee ranked in an order most easie and obvious to bee

found, which I think is that of Sciences and Languages; when first all the Books are divided into their *subjectam materiam* whereof they Treat, and then everie kinde of matter subdivided into their several Languages: And as the Catalogue should bee so made, that it may alwaies bee augmented as the stock doth increas; so the place in the Librarie must bee left open for the increas of the number of Books in their proper Seats, and in the Printed Catalogue, a Reference is to bee made to the place where the Books are to bee found in their Shelvs or repositories. When the stock is thus known and fitted to bee exposed to the view of the Learned

World, Then the waie of Trading with it, both at home and abroad, is to bee laid to heart both for the increas of the stock, and for the improvement of it to use. For the increas of the stock both at home and abroad, correspondencie should bee held with those that are eminent in everie Science, to Trade with them for their profit, that what they want and wee have, they may receiv upon condition, that what they have and wee want, they should impart in that facultie wherein their eminencie doth lie; As for such as are at home eminent in anie kinde, becaus they may com by Native right to have use of the Librarie-Treasure, they are to bee Traded

withal in another waie, *viz.* that the things which are gained from abroad, which as yet are not made common, and put to publick use should bee promised and imparted to them for the increas of their private stock of knowledg, to the end that what they have peculiar, may also bee given in for a requital, so that the particularities of gifts at home and abroad, are to meet as in a Center in the hand of the Librarie-keeper, and hee is to Trade with the one by the other, to caus them to multiplie the publick stock, whereof hee is a Treasurer and Factor.

Thus hee should Trade with those that are at home and abroad out of the Universitie,

and with those that are within the Universitie, hee should have acquaintance to know all that are of anie parts, and how their vein of Learning doth lie, to supplie helps unto them in their faculties from without and from within the Nation, to put them upon the keeping of correspondencie with men of their own strain, for the beating out of matters not yet elaborated in Sciences; so that they may bee as his Assistants and subordinate Factors in his Trade and in their own for gaining of knowledg: Now becaus in all publick Agencies, it is fit that som inspection should bee had over those that are intrusted therewith, therefore in this Fac-

torie and Trade for the increas of Learning, som tie should bee upon those Librarie-keepers to oblige them to carefulness.

I would then upon this account, have an Order made that once in the year, the Librarie-keeper should bee bound to give an account of his Trading, and of his Profit in his Trade (as in all humane Trades Factors ought, and use to do to their principals at least once a year) and to this effect I would have it ordered, that the chief Doctors of each facultie of the Universitie, should meet at a Convenient time in a week of the year, to receiv the Accounts of his Trading, that hee may shew them wherein the stock of Learn-

ing hath been increased, for that year's space; and then hee is to produce the particulars which hee hath gained from abroad, and laie them before them all, that everie one in his own facultie may declare in the presence of others, that which hee thinketh fit to bee added to the publick stock, and made common by the Catalogue of Additionals, which everie year within the Universities is to bee published in writing within the Librarie it self, and everie three years (or sooner as the number of Additionals may bee great, or later, if it bee smal) to bee put in Print and made common to those that are abroad. And at this giving up of the accounts,

as the Doctors are to declare what they think worthie to bee added to the common stock of Learning, each in their Facultie; so I would have them see what the Charges and Pains are whereat the Librarie-Keeper hath been, that for his encouragement, the extraordinarie expences in correspondencies and transcriptions for the publick good, may bee allowed him out of som Revenues, which should bee set a part to that effect, and disposed of according to their joint-consent and judgment in that matter. Here then hee should bee bound to shew them the Lists of his correspondents, the Letters from them in Answer to his, and the

reckoning of his extraordinarie expence should bee allowed him in that which hee is indebted, or hath freely laid out to procure Rarities into the stock of Learning. And becaus I understand that all the Book-Printers or Stationars of the Common-wealth are bound of everie Book which is Printed, to send a Copie into the Universitie Librarie; and it is impossible for one man to read all the Books in all Faculties, to judg of them what worth there is in them; nor hath everie one Abilitie to judg of all kinde of Sciences what everie Autor doth handle, and how sufficiently; therefore I would have at this time of giving accounts, the

Librarie-keeper also bound to produce the Catalogue of all the Books sent unto the Universitie's Librarie by the Stationars that Printed them; to the end that everie one of the Doctors in their own Faculties should declare, whether or no they should bee added, and where they should bee placed in the Catalogue of Additionals; For I do not think that all Books and Treaties which in this age are Printed in all kindes, should bee inserted into the Catalogue, and added to the stock of the Librarie, discretion must bee used and confusion avoided, and a cours taken to distinguish that which is profitable, from that which is useless; and according to the

verdict of that Societie, the usefulness of Books for the publick is to bee determined; yet becaus there is seldom anie Books wherein there is not somthing useful, and Books freely given are not to bee cast away, but may bee kept, therefore I would have a peculiar place appointed for such Books as shall bee laid aside to keep them in, and a Catalogue of their Titles made Alphabetically in reference to the Autor's name, with a note of distinction to shew the Science to which they are to bee referred. These thoughts com thus suddenly into my head, which in due time may bee more fully described, if need bee, chiefly if, upon the ground of this account,

som competencie should bee found out and allowed to maintein such charges as will bee requisite, towards the advancement of the Publick good of Learning after this manner.

THE
SECOND LETTER

THE

SECOND LETTER

SIR! In my last I gave you som incident thoughts, concerning the improvement of an Honorarie Librarie-keeper's-place, to shew the true end and use thereof, and how the keepers thereof should bee regulated in the Trade, which hee is to drive for the Advancement of Learning, and encouraged by a competent maintenance, and supported in extraordinarie expences for the same. Now I wish that som men of publick Spirits and lovers of Learning, might bee made acquainted with the Action, upon such grounds as were then briefly suggested;

who know's but that in time somthing might bee offered to the Trustees of the Nation, with better conceptions then these I have suggested.

For, if it bee considered that amongst manie Eminencies of this Nation, the Librarie of Oxford is one of the most considerable for the advancement of Learning, if rightly improved and Traded withal for the good of Scholars at home and abroad; If this (I saie) bee rightly considered and represented to the publick Reformers of this age, that by this means this Nation as in other things, so especially for Pietie and Learning, and by the advancement of both, may now bee made more glorious then

anie other in the world; No doubt such as in the Parlament know the worth of Learning will not bee avers from further overtures, which may bee made towards this purpose. What a great stir hath been heretofore, about the Eminencie of the Librarie of Heidelberg, but what use was made of it? It was ingrossed into the hands of a few, till it became a Prey unto the Enemies of the Truth. If the Librarie-keeper had been a man, that would have traded with it for the increas of true Learning, it might have been preserved unto this daie in all the rarities thereof, not so much by the shuttings up of the multitude of Books, and the rareness thereof

for antiquitie, as by the understandings of men and their proficiencie to improv and dilate knowledg upon the grounds which hee might have suggested unto others of parts, and so the Librarie-rarities would not onely have been preserved in the spirits of men, but have fructified abundantly therein unto this daie, whereas they are now lost, becaus they were but a Talent digged in the ground; And as they that had the keeping of that Librarie made it an Idol, to bee respected and worshipped for a raritie by an implicite faith, without anie benefit to those who did esteem of it a far off: so it was just with God that it should fall into the hands of those that in all

things follow an Idolatrous waie, to blinde men with shewes without all realitie of substantial virtue, which is onely eminent in this, that it becometh profitable unto all, by dilating the light of knowledg, and the love of grace and goodness in the hearts of all men, that are fit to receiv the one and the other; And where this Aim is not in those that are intrusted with publick places; there they in the end will bee found unprofitable servants; for the trust which God hath put into their hands to profit withal, they discharge not for the account which everie one is to give unto him of his Stewardship, is not how careful hee hath kept things of use unto

himself, to pride himself in the possession of that which others have not, (as the custom of men is, that know not what true glorie is) but how faithfully and diligently hee hath distributed the same to such as were worthie thereof for their good, that they might bee stirred up both to glorifie God for his goodness; and to imitate him in the Communication of all good things unto others for his sake freely. This was Christ's Work on Earth to receiv us, unto the Glorie of God; this was that which hee taught by this practice, that it is *more blessed to give, then to receiv*. This is that which this envious World cannot rellish, and what stop's the current of true love in

the hearts of men? Nothing so much as the self-seeking of men in the waies of Learning, by which they covetously obstruct the fountains of life and comfort, which might overflow and water abundantly the barren and thirstie Souls of those that perish for want of address unto wisdom; which in all the waies of humane and divine Learning might bee mainly advanced, by the industrie of one man in such a place, whose Trade should bee such as I formerly described, to deal with the spirits of all men of parts, to set them a working one by and towards another, upon the subjects which hee should bee intrusted withal to keep in the stock of Learn-

ing. It is the Glorie and Riches of Nations and of great Cities, to make themselvs the Center of Trade for all their Neighbors; and if they can finde waies of politie, to oblige their Neighbors to receiv from their Magazines the Commodities whereof they stand in need, it is everie waie a great benefit unto the State, so it may bee in matters of Learning, and by the Trade of Sciences this Church may oblige all the Neighbor Churches, and that Universitie all Forreiners that Trade in knowledg to receiv pretious Commodities, whereof they stand in need, from our Magazines and Storehouses; if a painful Steward and dispenser thereof, bee im-

ploied and mainteined to use industrie for so blessed a work, from whence much Glorie to God in the Gospel, and honor will redound to the Nation. For although the waies of humane Learning are almost infinite and wonderfully various, and have their peculiar uses in the outward life of man, for which most men affect them, yet in one that is to minde the universal good of all, the whole varietie and diversitie of matters useful unto this present life, as they com within the sphere of Learning must bee reduced, and may bee subordinate unto the advancement of the Gospel of Christ, wherein the Glorie of the Nation, at this and all times

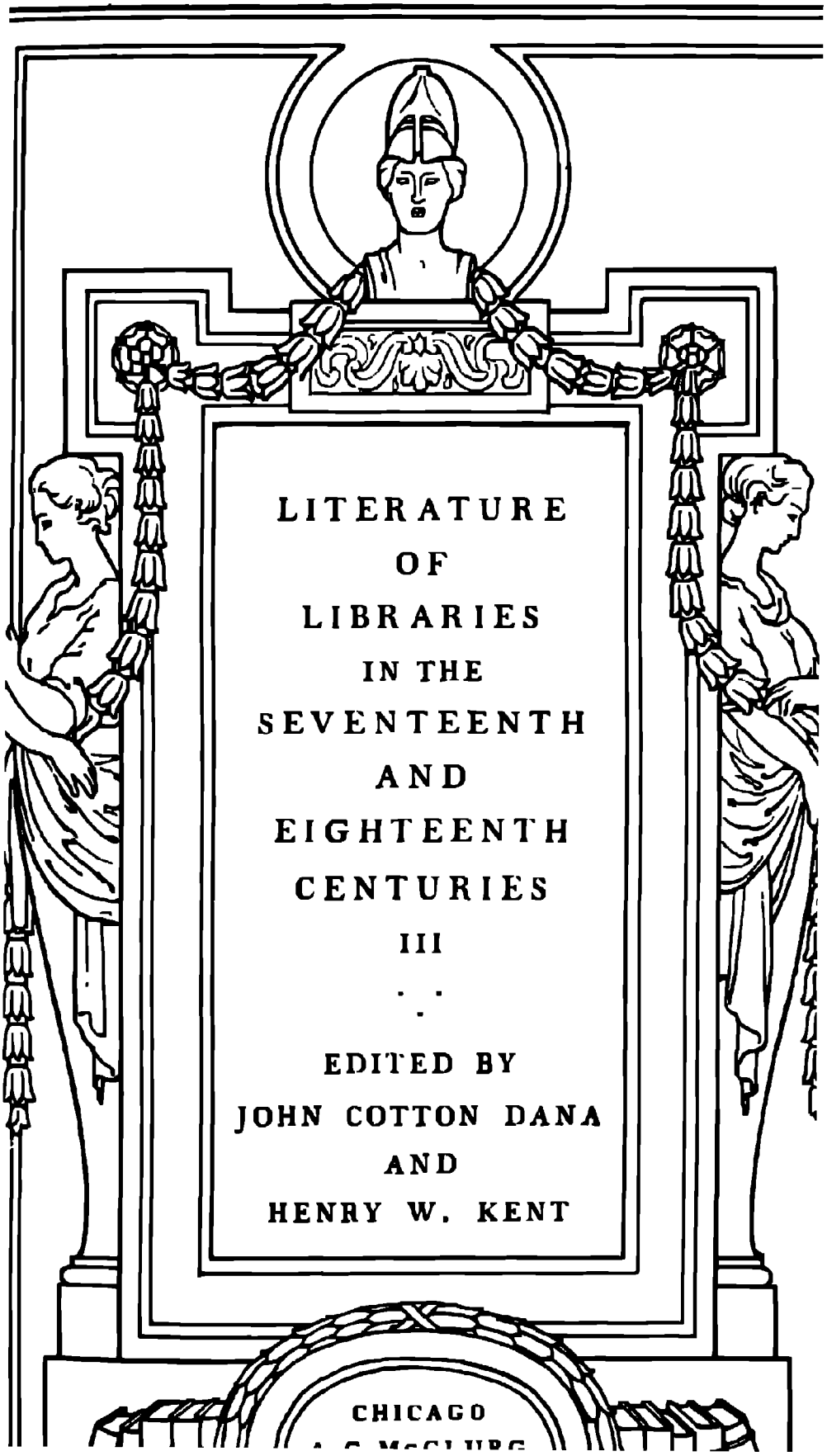
should bee thought to stand: And truly that is the thing which take's most with mee, for which I would have that Librarie thus improved by a faithful keeper, that when his Trade is set on foot, with all those that are of eminent parts in their several faculties, wee knowing who they are and wherein their eminencies do lie, may have opportunities to provoke them to the right use thereof, by giving them Objects from our store; and furnishing them with tasks and matters to bee elaborated, which cannot bee diverted from the scope of God's glorie to bee made known unto all men in Jesus Christ, for there is nothing of knowledg in the minde of

man, which may not bee conveniently referred to the virtues of God in Christ, whereby the humane nature is to bee exalted to that dignitie whereunto hee hath received it, that it should by him rule over the whole Creätion. And the want of this Aim to look upon things in order to him, and to set them a working without relation to him, is that which blast's all our endevors, and make's them determin in confusion and disorder; For whatsoëver is not directed in it's own place with som reference unto him must bee overthrown; nor is there anie waie left for anie to prosper in that which hee undertaketh, but to learn to know him and

respect him in it, for the advancement of the Kingdom over the Souls of men, which by the Sanctified use of all knowledg is chiefly effected. If then the Trade of Learning is to bee set a foot in a publick waie, and regulated to deserv the countenance of a Religious State, this Aim, and the waie of prosecuting of it must bee intended and beaten out; For except Sciences bee reformed in order to this Scope, the increas of knowledg will increas nothing but strife, pride and confusion, from whence our sorrows will bee multiplied and propagated unto posteritie; but if hee, who is to bee intrusted with the managing of this Trade, bee addressed in the

waie which leadeth unto this Aim without partialitie, his negotiation will bee a blessing unto this age and to posteritie.

I have no time to inlarge upon this Subject, or to conceiv a formal and regular discours, but the thoughts which thus fall into my minde I impart unto you, that you may give them as hints unto others, who of themselvs will bee able to inlarge them either to the Hous, or to such as can in due time swaie the Counsels of leading men in this Common-wealth.



LITERATURE OF LIBRARIES IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

III

EDITED BY
JOHN COTTON DANA
AND
HENRY W. KENT

CHICAGO

THE LIFE OF
SIR THOMAS BODLEY
&c.

An Edition of two hundred and fifty copies in this form and of twenty-five copies on Large Paper was printed at The Merrymount Press, Boston, in November, 1906

THE LIFE OF
SIR THOMAS BODLEY
WRITTEN BY HIMSELF
TOGETHER WITH
THE FIRST DRAFT OF THE
STATUTES
OF THE
PUBLIC LIBRARY
AT OXON



CHICAGO
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PREFACE

PREFACE

AS what is known of Sir Thomas Bodley's early life is derived from the short sketch "written by himself," which is reprinted here, it is unnecessary to speak of that period at any length.

Of "worshipful parentage;" brought as a small boy in Geneva under the teachings of men like Chevallier, Beroald, Calvin, Beza, and Robert Constantine; educated later at Oxford, where he passed many years both as student and lecturer; an accomplished linguist through years of travel and residence in foreign countries, he was well adapted to

a career of diplomacy, and was selected by Queen Elizabeth for many state embassies, which he recounts with naïve pride. He seems to have conducted these embassies with tact and ability, but they are almost forgotten, while Sir Thomas will always be remembered for the library which bears his name, at whose door he "set up his staff" when, tired of statecraft, he withdrew from public life, determining still to "do the true part of a profitable member of the state."

His own account of his life ends here, with the wish that the library itself may show how well he has sped in his endeavours. And who could wish a nobler

monument!

"It is surely unnecessary," says old Anthony à Wood, "to repeat the praise of such a man as Thomas Bodley, a man whose name will perish only with that of his country. The obligations which literature owes to the exertions of this individual can only be estimated by those who have opportunity as well as occasion to consult the inestimable treasures he bequeathed to the place of his education." A more modern tribute is paid by Mr. Augustine Birrell in his agreeable essay, *In the Name of the Bodleian:* "Springing out of the mind, heart, and head of one strong, efficient, and resolute

man, it is matter for rejoicing with every honest gentleman to be able to observe how quickly the idea took root, how well it has thriven, by how great a tradition it has become consecrated, and how studiously the wishes of the founder in all their essentials are still observed and carried out."

The first actual university library at Oxford, called after its benefactor, Bishop Cobham, was begun in 1367, in a small upper room, lighted by four windows. Even before that a few books had been kept in chests, to be "lent out under pledges," while others were chained to desks for public reading. Bishop Cobham's

books, by the way, were nearly lost to the university because the poor Bishop died without enough money to pay for his funeral expenses; but a kindly friend redeemed the books and sent them to Oxford, in accordance with the last wishes of the Bishop.

It was not many years before the building of a more worthy room was begun, and to appeals for aid in the new enterprise Duke Humphrey of Gloucester responded so liberally with both money and books that he is often called the founder. It is of Duke Humphrey, that "religious, good, and learned Prince," the patron of all learning, that quaint Thomas Hearne

(the story of whose connection with the library is an interesting one) tells us that, whenever he saw his handwriting in the library, he used to "show a particular sort of respect" to it. What this "sort of respect" was, history does not say.

Another forerunner of the university library was the collection presented to Durham College by that early and earnest lover of books, Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham, with the injunction that it was to be free to all scholars, who might carry away books for purposes of study, provided they left pledges exceeding their value. On the dissolution of Durham College by Henry VIII

some of these books found their way into "Duke Humphrey's Library." Other benefactors were Bishop Kempe and John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester. The library soon lost some of its treasures, however, for there are records that "scholars borrowed books upon petty or insufficient pledges, and so chose to forfeit the latter rather than return the former."

But dire calamity was to come! In 1550 the commissioners appointed by Edward VI in his zeal for reformation visited the library at Oxford, destroying all illuminated manuscripts as "necessarily Popish," and leaving everything exposed to harm and

pillage. Traditions have been handed from one generation to another of the vandalism that went on. Some of the books were burned, some sold to bookbinders, tailors and shoemakers, who found vellum and parchment procured thus cheaply most useful in their trades. The rest disappeared mysteriously, but so completely that, six years later, the university itself, having no books, sold the very shelves and benches, and the room was left desolate. And so young Thomas Bodley found it when he was entered at Magdalen College four years after the final ruin had been wrought. He must have been deeply touched

by the traces of recent destruction; for the thought of them followed him through the years spent away from Oxford, and was destined finally to bear rich fruit.

Having first counted the cost, and made sure that he was "furnished in a competent proportion" with the four aids necessary to success in his enterprise, —knowledge, "purse-ability," "great store of honourable friends," and abundant leisure, — Thomas Bodley wrote, on the twenty-third of February, 1597–8, to the vice-chancellor of the university, offering to "reduce again to its former use" the room which, with the statute re-

cords, alone remained to prove that there had once been a "public library" at Oxford, by fitting it with the necessary shelves and seats, procuring for it gifts of books, and by an annual endowment. The offer was most gratefully accepted, and from that time the story of the founder is practically that of the library.

Bodley's firm confidence in his "honourable friends" was not misplaced: gifts came pouring in, both from those who shared his enthusiasm and from those who "wished to be written in the scroll of the benefactors," for whose recognition wise provision was made. The expense of fitting up the room was far greater than

had been anticipated; but Bodley was nothing daunted, and the library was formally opened in November, 1603. Visitors flocked to this "the first practically public library in Europe," and King James I was twice an appreciative guest. He granted letters patent the year after it was opened, calling the library by Bodley's name, and soon afterwards knighted the founder, whose name, said he, should have been not Bodley, but "Godley."

The first catalogue appeared in 1605, and before many years, the library having outgrown its quarters, extensions were begun.

Sir Thomas wrote his *Life* in 1609, and the original manu-

script is preserved in the Bodleian. It was printed first in 1647, by Henry Ball. In 1703 Thomas Hearne (later sub-librarian) included it, as reprinted here, in his *Reliquiae Bodleianae*, together with Sir Thomas's *First Draught of the Statutes* of the library, and a collection of letters written by him to Thomas James, the first librarian. The latter is known for his editions of Richard de Bury's *Philobiblon*, one of which has a long dedication to Bodley. It is fortunate indeed that these letters have been preserved, for they are a most truthful witness of the unceasing activity and industry, the indefatigable attention even to matters of minutest

detail, and the unending devotion which Sir Thomas lavished upon his self-appointed task.

"I have spoken here with Mr. Farmer," he says, "who hath promised, that whensoever you come after Thursday next, he will be at Home. He hath a Cart-load of Books, of which you may make your choice, which he will cause to be new bound at Oxon. You shall do well, in my Opinion, to be there some morning very early, least he ride abroad, and not come in till Night." And again: "Now I must entreat you to send me the Register-Book, wherein the Benefactors' Names and Gifts shall be recorded. For I will begin, to have it written.

It would be packed up in a Coffin of Boards, with Paper thick about it, and Hay between it and the Boards. I pray you be careful about it, and let me receive it the next Week, sent by the Waggon for Fear of Rain."

At another time he writes: "I pray you salute and intreat Mr. Principal from me, to cause such Bars to be supplied, as are wanting: And your self I would request to write as often as you find a fit Messenger, to the Chain-man, to dispatch the rest of the Books, and to make as many Chains before Midsummer, as is possible. For I am like to bring more Books, than is imagined. I do not find in your

Catalogue *Fricius de Rep. emendanda*, and yet I think it is in the Library, whereof I pray you advertise me: And likewise what Works of *Sigonius* are wanting."

In speaking of an unusually large number of books which he is sending, he says: ". . . which will add more and more unto your Care and trouble, as it doth unto mine, who am toiled exceedingly, and assure your self, no less than yourself, with Writing, Buying, Binding, Disposing, &c. besides all mine own Business, which are of no moment. But I am fed with the Pleasure of seeing some end before it be long: Which must be likewise your Comfort."

"I do not doubt but you have divers Books double, which proceedeth in part of the Imperfection of your Catalogue, wherein are sundry books omitted that are in the Library: but withal, the Fault is mine, and Jo. Bill's, who dealing with multitudes, must of force make many Scapes," is one kindly comment. Bill was the London bookseller employed to buy books on the Continent, while works of the English press were furnished by the Stationers' Company, in accordance with an agreement by which the library received a copy of every book published by them.

Sometimes good Sir Thomas's

friendship of long standing with Mr. James is slightly tried when the regular bulletins of the library's welfare, lists of donations, and work on the catalogue are delayed or imperfect; or when Mr. James hints that an increase of his stipend (something over five pounds quarterly at first) would be acceptable, or shows a desire to become "encumbred with marriage," a state which Sir Thomas deems inexpedient to the welfare of the library. But in general the letters are marked by confidence and kindly consideration.

There are some clauses of the statutes which time has proved to be unwise; Mr. Birrell calls

attention particularly to the provision for the disposal of duplicates which led to the sale of the Bodleian's First Folio of Shakespeare, the discovery and identification of which make one of the romances of bibliography. But for the most part these statutes show amazingly wise forethought and a broad and businesslike grasp of the needs of the library, both in his own day and in time to come.

After a lingering illness, Sir Thomas Bodley died on January 28, 1613. He had married, when about forty years old, Ann Ball, a wealthy widow, whose death preceded his by a year and a half. He left no children and

made the university his heir, causing thereby some reproach, although his carefully drawn will is full of bequests to various relatives, servants and friends. A sum of nearly seven hundred pounds was left to provide suits of mourning and a dinner for a large number of people, many of whom were poor scholars. The principal legatee among his kinsmen was his brother Laurence, Canon of Exeter. Another brother, Sir Josias, a soldier and military engineer, who had presented several astronomical instruments to the library, was remembered, and also nieces, nephews and stepchildren. A sister who had gained his disap-

proval by eloping with a poor minister was completely overlooked in the will. Some hundred years later her descendants, being very poor and infirm, begged aid from the university.

In his will Bodley had desired to be buried in the chapel of Merton College, and his wishes were carried out with great ceremony, the funeral oration being delivered by Sir Isaac Wake, the public orator. Volumes of verse were printed in commemoration of him, and a monument in his honour was erected in Merton Chapel.

It is interesting to follow with Dr. Macray, in his *Annals of the Bodleian Library*, the growth of

the great collection until we read of half a million volumes over which Mr. Nicholson, the librarian of to-day, presides, and we can but repeat, with emphasis which the years increase, the words of Anthony à Wood: "Another Ptolemy! . . . by his noble and generous endeavours he hath been the occasion of making hundreds of public writers, and of increasing in an high degree the commonwealth of learning."

RUTH SHEPARD GRANNISS

New York, June 1, 1906

RELIQUIÆ BODLEIANÆ
OR
SIR THOMAS BODLEY'S
REMAINS

THE LIFE OF SIR THOMAS BODLEY

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF

I WAS born at *Exeter in Devonshire*, the 2*d* of *March*, in the Year 1544; descended, both by Father and Mother, of Worshipful Parentage. By my Father's side, from an ancient Family of *Bodley*, or *Bodleigh*, of *Dunscombe* by *Crediton*; and by my Mother from *Robert Hone* Esq; *of Offerey Saint Mary*, nine Miles from *Exeter*. My Father in the time of Queen *Mary*, being noted and known to be an Enemy to Popery, was so cruelly threatned, and so narrowly observed by those that maliced his Religion, that for the Safe-

guard of himself, and my Mother, who was wholly affected as my Father, he knew no way so secure, as to fly into *Germany*: Where after a while he found means to call over my Mother, with all his Children and Family; whom he settled for a time at *Wesel* in *Cleveland*: (For there as then were many *English*, which had left their Country, for their Conscience, and with Quietness enjoyed their Meetings, and Preachings) and from thence we removed to the Town of *Franckford*, where was in like sort another *English* Congregation. Howbeit we made no long tarriance in either of those two Towns, for that my Father had resolved to fix his Abode in the

City of *Geneva*: Where, (as far as I remember) the *English* Church consisted of some hundred Persons. I was at that time of 12 Years of Age; but through my Father's Cost and Care, sufficiently instructed to become an Auditor of *Chevalerius* in *Hebrew*, of *Beroaldus* in *Greek*, of *Calvin* and *Beza* in Divinity, and of some other Professors in that University; (which was newly then erected) besides my domestical Teachers, in the House of *Philibertus Saracenus* a famous Physician in that City, with whom I was boarded: where *Robertus Constantinus* that made the *Greek Lexicon*, read *Homer* unto me. Thus I remained there two Years and

more, until such time as our Nation was advertised of the Death of Queen *Mary*, and Succession of *Elizabeth*, with the Change of Religion; which caused my Father to hasten into *England:* Where he came with my Mother, and with all their Family, within the first of the *Queen*, and settled their Dwelling in the City of *London*. It was not long after, that I was sent away from thence to the *University* of *Oxon*, recommended to the Teaching and Tuition of Dr. *Humphrey*, who was shortly after chosen the chief Reader in Divinity, and President of *Magdalen*-College. There I followed my Studies, till I took the Degree of Batchelor of Arts, which was in the

Year 1563, within which Year I was also chosen Probationer of *Merton*-College, and the next year ensuing admitted Fellow. Afterwards, to wit, in the Year 1565, by special Perswasion of some of my Fellows, and for my private Exercise, I undertook the publick reading of a *Greek* Lecture, in the same College-Hall, without requiring, or expecting any Stipend for it. Nevertheless, it pleased the Fellowship, of their own Accord, to allow me soon after four Marks by the Year, and ever since to continue that Lecture to the College. In the Year of our Lord 1566, I proceeded Master of Arts; and read for that Year in the *Schooi-Streets*, Natural Phi-

losophy: After which time, within less than three Years space, I was won by intreaty of my best affected Friends, to stand for the Proctorship, to which I and my Collegue Mr. *Bearblock* of *Exeter*-College were quietly Elected in the Year 1569, without any Competition, or Countersuit of any other. After this for a long time, I supplied the Place of the University-Orator, and bestowed my time in the Study of sundry Faculties, without any Inclination to profess any one above the rest; insomuch as at last, I waxed desirous to Travel beyond the Seas, for attaining to the Knowledge of some special Modern Tongues, and for the Increase of my Ex-

perience in the Managing of Affairs: being wholly then addicted to employ my self, and all my Cares, in the publick Service of the State. My Resolution fully taken, I departed out of *England*, *Anno* 1576, and continued very near four Years abroad: and that in sundry Parts of *Italy*, *France* and *Germany*. A good while after my return, to wit, in the Year 1585, I was employed by the *Queen*, to *Frederick*, Father to the present King of *Denmark*, to *Julius* Duke of *Brunswick*, to *William Landgrave* of *Hesse*, and other *German* Princes. The effect of my Message was, to draw them to joyn their Forces with hers, for giving Assistance to the King

of *Navarre*, now *Henry* the *IVth* of *France*. My next Imployment was to *Henry* the Third at such time as he was forced by the Duke of *Guise* to fly out of *Paris:* Which I performed in such sort as I had in Charge, with extroardinary Secrecy, not being accompanied with any one Servant, (for so I was commanded) nor with any other Letters, than such as were written with the Queen's own Hand to the King, and some selected Persons about Him. The effect of that Message it is fit I should conceal, but it tended greatly to the Advantage, not only of the King, but of all the Protestants in *France*, and to the Duke's apparent overthrow; which also followed soon

upon it. It so befel after this, in the Year Eighty Eight, that for the better Conduct of her *Highness's* Affairs in the *Provinces United*, I was thought a fit Person to reside in those Parts, and was sent thereupon to the *Hague* in *Holland;* where according to the Contract that had formerly past between her *Highness* and the *States*, I was admitted for one of their Counsel of State, takeing Place in their Assemblies next to Count *Maurice*, and yielding my Suffrage in all that was proposed: During all that time, what Approbation was given of my painful Endeavours by the *Queen*, Lords in *England*, by the *States* of the Country there, and by all the *English* Soldiery,

I refer it to be notified by some other's Relation; Sith it was not unknown to any of any Calling, that then were acquainted with the State of that Government. For at my first coming thither, the People of that Country stood in dangerous Terms of discontentment; partly for some Courses that were held in *England*, as they thought to their singular Prejudice, but most of all in respect of the insolent Demeanour of some of her *Highness's* Ministers, which only respected their private Emolument; little weighing in their Dealing, what the *Queen* had contracted with the *States* of the Country: Whereupon was conceived a mighty Fear on every side, that both a

present Dissolution of the Covenant would ensue, and a downright Breach of Amity, between us and them. Now what means I set afoot for redress of these Perils, and by what Degrees the state of things was reduced into order, it would require a long Treatise to report it exactly. But this I may aver with Modesty and Truth, and the Country did always acknowledge it with Gratitude, that had I not of my self without any Direction from my Superiours, proceeded in my Charge with extreme Circumspection, as well in all my Speeches and Proposals to the *States*, as in the Tenour of my Letters, that I writ into *England*, some sudden Alarm had

been given, to the utter Subversion, and Ruin of the State of those *Provinces*: Which in process of time, must needs have wrought in all Probability, the self same effect in the State of this Realm. Of this my Diligence and Care in the managing of my Business, there was, as I have signified, very special Notice taken by the *Queen*, and State at Home, for which I received from her Majesty, many comfortable Letters of her gracious Acceptance: As withall from that time forward, I did never almost receive any Sett Instructions, how to govern my Proceedings in her Majesty's Occasions: but the Carriage in a manner of all her Affairs, was left to me and my

Discretion. Through this my long Absence out of *England*, which wanted very little of five whole Years, my private Estate did greatly require my speedy Return; which when I had obtained by Intercession of Friends, and a tedious Suit, I could enjoy but a while, being shortly after enjoyned to repair to the *Hague* again. Nevertheless, upon a certain occasion to deliver unto her some secret Overtures, and of performing thereupon an extraordinary Service, I came again Home, within less than a twelve Month; and I was no sooner come, but her *Highness* embracing the Fruit of my Discoveries, I was presently commanded to return to the *States*, with Charge to

pursue those Affairs to Performance, which I had secretly proposed; and according to the Project which I had conceived and imparted unto her, all things were concluded, and brought to that Issue, that was instantly desired: Whereupon I procured my last Revocation. Now here I cannot chuse, in making Report of the principal Accidents, that have befallen unto me in the Course of my Life, but record among the rest, that from the very first day, I had no man more to Friend, among the Lords of the Council, than was the Lord Treasurer *Burleigh;* for when occasion had been offered of declaring his Conceit, as touching my Service, he would

always tell the *Queen*, (which I received from her self, and some other Ear-Witnesses) that there was not any Man in *England*, so meet as myself, to undergo the Office of the Secretary: And since, his Son the present Lord Treasurer hath signified unto me in private Conference, that when his Father first intended to advance him to that Place, his purpose was withal to make me his Collegue. But the Case stood thus in my behalf: Before such time as I returned from the *Provinces United*, which was in the Year 1597, and likewise after my return, The Earl of *Essex* did use me so kindly both by Letters and Messages, and other great Tokens of his inward

Favour to me, that although I had no meaning, but to settle in my Mind my chiefest Dependance upon the Lord *Burleigh*, as one that I reputed to be both the best able, and therewithal the most willing to work my Advancement with the *Queen*; Yet I know not how the Earl, who sought by all Devices to divert her Love and Liking both from the Father and the Son, (but from the Son in special) to withdraw my Affection from the One, and the Other, and to win me altogether to depend upon himself, did so often take occasion to entertain the *Queen*, with some prodigal Speeches of my Sufficiency for a Secretary, which were ever accompanied

with Words of Disgrace against the present Lord Treasurer, as neither She her self, (of whose Favour before I was thoroughly assured) took any great Pleasure to prefer me the sooner; (for she hated his Ambition, and would give little Countenance to any of his Followers) and both the Lord *Burleigh*, and his Son waxed jealous of my Courses, as if underhand I had been induced by the Cunning and Kindness of the Earl of *Essex*, to oppose my self against their Dealings. And though in very Truth, they had no solid Ground at all, of the least Alteration in my Disposition towards either of them both (for I did greatly respect their Per-

sons and Places, with a settled Resolution to do them any Service, as also in my Heart I detested to be of any Faction whatsoever) yet the now Lord Treasurer, upon occasion of some talk, that I have since had with him, of the Earl and his Actions, hath freely confessed of his own accord to me, that his daily Provocations were so bitter and sharp against him, and his Comparisons so odious, when he put us in a Ballance, as he thought thereupon, he had very great reason to use his best means, to put any Man out of Love of raising his Fortune, whom the Earl with such Violence, to his extreme Prejudice, had endeavoured to dignifie.

And this, as he affirmed, was all the Motive he had, to set himself against me, in whatsoever might redound to the bettering my State, or encreasing my Credit, and countenance with the *Queen:* When I had thoroughly now bethought me first in the Earl, of the slender Hold-fast he had in the *Queen;* of an endless Opposition of the chiefest of our Statesmen, like still to wait upon him; of his perilous, and feeble, and uncertain Advice, as well in his own, as in all the Causes of his Friends; and when moreover, for my self I had fully considered, how very untowardly these two Counsellors were affected unto me, (upon whom before in Cogita-

tion I had framed all the Fabrick of my Future Prosperity) how ill it did concur with my natural Disposition, to become, or to be counted either a Stickler or Partaker in any publick Faction; how well I was able by God's good Blessing to live of my self, If I could be content with a competent Livelihood; how short a time of farther Life, I was then to expect by the common Course of Nature; when I had, I say, in this manner represented to my Thoughts my particular Estate, together with the Earl's; I resolved thereupon to possess my Soul in Peace, all the Residue of my Days; to take my full farewell of State-Imployments; to satisfie

my Mind with that Mediocrity of worldly living, that I had of mine own; and so to retire me from the Court, which was the Epilogue, and End of all my Actions, and Endeavours of any important Note, till I came to the Age of Sixty Three. Now although after this, by her Majesty's Directions, I was often called to the Court, by the now Lord Treasurer, then Secretary, and required by him, as also divers times since, by order from the King, to serve as Ambassador in *France*, to go a Commissioner from his *Highness*, for concluding the Truce between *Spain* and the *Provinces*, and to negotiate in other very honourable Imployments, yet I would

not be removed from my former final Resolution; insomuch as at length to reduce me the sooner to return to the Court, I had an offer made me by the present Lord Treasurer (for in process of time he saw, as he himself was pleased to tell me more than once, that all my dealing was upright, fair, and direct) that in case I my self were willing unto it, he would make me his Associate in the Secretary's Office: And to the Intent I might believe that he intended it *bona fide*, he would get me out of hand to be sworn of the Council. And for the better enabling of my State, to maintain such a Dignity, whatsoever I would ask, that might be fit for him to

deal in, and for me to enjoy, he would presently solicite the King to give it Passage. All which Perswasions notwithstanding, albeit I was often assaulted by him, in regard of my Years, and for that I felt my self subject to many Indispositions, besides some other private Reasons, which I reserve unto my self, I have continued still at home, my retired course of Life, which is now methinks to me, as the greatest Preferment that the State can afford. Only this, I must truly confess of my self, that though I did never yet repent me of those, and some other my often refusals of Honourable Offers, in respect of enriching my private Estate; yet somewhat

more of late, I have blamed myself and my Nicety that way, for the love that I bear to my Reverend Mother the *University* of *Oxon*, and to the Advancement of her Good, by such kind of means, as I have since undertaken. For thus I fell to Discourse, and debate in my Mind, That altho' I might find it fittest for me, to keep out of the Throng of Court Contentions, and address my Thoughts and Deeds to such Ends altogether, as I my self could best affect; yet withal I was to think, that my Duty towards God, the Expectation of the World, and my natural Inclination, and very Morality did require, that I should not wholly so hide those little

Abilities that I had, but that in some measure, in one kind or other, I should do the true part of a profitable Member of the State; whereupon examining exactly for the rest of my Life, what course I might take, and having sought (as I thought) all the ways to the Wood, to select the most proper, I concluded at the last, to set up my Staff at the Library-Door in Oxon; being thoroughly perswaded, that in my Solitude, and Surcease from the Common-Wealth Affairs, I could not busy my self to better purpose, than by reducing that Place (which then in every Part lay ruined and wast) to the publick use of Students. For the effecting whereof, I found my self

furnished in a competent Proportion, of such four kinds of Aids, as unless I had them all, there was no hope of good Success: For Without some kind of Knowledge, as well in the Learned and Modern Tongues, as in sundry other sorts of scholastical Literature, without some Purse-ability to go through with the Charge, without great store of Honourable Friends, to further the Design, and without special good Leisure to follow such a Work, it could but have proved a vain Attempt and inconsiderate. But how well I have sped in all my Endeavours, and how full Provision I have made for the Benefit and Ease of all Frequenters of the *Library*, that

which I have already performed in Sight, that which besides I have given for the Maintenance of it, and that which hereafter I purpose to add, by way of Enlargement of that Place, (for the Project is cast, and whether I live or die, it shall be, God willing, put in full Execution) will testify so truly and abundantly for me, as I need not be the Publisher of the Dignity and Worth of mine own Institution.

Written with mine own Hand, Anno 1609. *December* 11*th.*

T. B.

SIR THOMAS BODLEY'S STATUTES

SIR THOMAS BODLEY'S FIRST DRAUGHT OF THE STATUTES OF THE PUBLICK LIBRARY AT OXON

TRANSCRIBED FROM THE ORIGINAL COPY, WRITTEN BY HIS OWN HAND, AND REPOSITED IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE SAID LIBRARY

FORASMUCH as Experience hath made it apparent in the course of Men's Actions, that no publick Institution nor Foundation whatsoever, wherein a Multitude hath Interest, and where Continuance is required, can produce those good Effects, for which the same was first intended, except the dissolute Demeanours of ill affected Per-

sons be judiciously restrained, by force of Statutes and Provisoes to encounter their Disorders; it is thought in that regard a most necessary Care, to prevent by all good means, what hereafter may befal to the abusing, impairing, or perhaps (which God forbid) to the utter subverting of our Store of Books; which may undoubtedly prove in tract of time, (if God of his Goodness shall, according to the project, prosper our Proceedings) the most absolute and sufficient, for the Advancement of Learning, that hath been hitherto renowned, by any extant Record, in any Part of *Europe*: We therefore the Chancellor, Vice-Chancellor, and doctors, together with the Proctors,

and Masters, Regents, and non-Regents of the Great Convocation of the University of *Oxon*, upon often Consultation and Conference had with Sir. *Tho. Bodley*, *&c.* Do Ordain and Decree with a solemn Concurrence of all our Voices, and Consents, that according to the Trust which he hath reposed in our careful Government of the Library, and in our frugal Disposition of the Profits of that Land, which he hath given and assigned to the Maintenance thereof, these our Orders, Acts, and Constitutions, shall be by all sorts of Students, to whom they may appertain, most Religiously kept and observed for ever.

Above all things, that may con-

cern the Preservation of this our publick Place of Study, or the Benefit, Use, and Ease of those that shall frequent it, it is deemed expedient, that some one be deputed to the Custody of it, that is noted and known for a diligent Student, and in all his Conversation to be Trusty, Active, and Discreet; a Graduat also, and a Linguist, not encumbred with Marriage, nor with a Benefice of Cure. For it cannot stand with Piety, that such a Charge should admit the continual Society of other publick Imployments; and Marriage is too full of Domestical Impeachments, to afford him so much time from his private Affairs, as almost every Day's necessity of his private Presence

will require.

The Course that must be held, in the Election and Admission of a Keeper to his Office, and the manner of delivering the Library-Keys into his Hands, shall be always like to that, which is yearly put in Practice in the Choice of the Proctors. But before the Electors be admitted to come to give their Voices, they shall all take their Oaths in this kind of Form.

I, A. B. do Promise and Swear, by the Faith and Trust that I owe to Almighty God, that in This Election towards a fit and worthy keeper, for the Publick Library of this University, I have no purpose, to confer my Suffrage, in

hope of Reward, or in regard, of any Promise, or at the Instance and Intreaty, direct or indirect of any Person, or Persons of what Quality soever: But that among them all that are known or supposed to affect this Charge, I will nominate and choose some such Graduat unto it, as in setting apart all kind of corrupt and partial Inducement, I shall and do repute, in the greatest Sincerity of my Judgment and Conscience, to be the meetest and best qualified Person, to advance with his Sufficiency the Dignity and Honour of this University, and the Publick Good, and Benefit of the Students in the Library.

The Election thus performed,

when the Party then elected shall come to be admitted, he shall swear to this Effect:

All and every of the Statutes, Constitutions, and Decrees, either made already, or hereafter to be made that may in any wise concern the Duty of the Keeper, and good Estate of the Library, I will observe in mine own Person, and to the uttermost of my Power, will cause to be observed by all other Persons, to whom the same may belong, as I hope to be saved, by God's infinite Mercy, thro' the Merits of Christ Jesus, revealed unto me, by his Holy Evangelists.

It is further understood, that the

Library Keeper shall never be enforced to relinquish his Office, but with his own free Assent and good-liking; unless upon Desert, for some heinous Offence, or apparent Insufficiency, he shall be adjudged unworthy to be continued in his Charge. And then in that Case, or by whatsoever means his Place becometh void, be it by his Death, or Resignation, or other incident Occasion, the Vice-Chancellor or his Deputy, within three Days next ensuing, shall give Orders for the Summons of a solemn Convocation, and there in that sort, as we have formerly prescribed, and is usually observed in the Election of the Proctors, proceed to make Choice of another to succeed.

And now to the end it may be known, what doth chiefly belong to his Function and Charge, it is first determined and decreed, That he shall take the care of keeping, and likewise of continuing the great Register-Book, which is chained to the Desk, at the upper broad Window of the Library: In which there are to be inrolled, and so from time to time recorded, as their Numbers shall augment, the particular Names and Gifts of as many, as have conferred either Books, or Mony, or other things of Worth for the Benefit and Good of Students in the Library. Wherein also the Munificence, not only of great and honourable Personages, but of others of mean and vulgar

Callings must be respectively remembred. For in a case of shewing Gratitude, it is meet in all Congruity, that no man be defrauded of that measure of Thanks, that is due unto his Bounty: As commonly few are so careless of a publick good Opinion, but where they know they have deserved, they would be noted for desert. And in that respect we do resolve, that the Keeper shall procure that Book to be written, with a special, fair, and pleasing Hand; and withall to be exposed, where it may be still in sight, for every Man to view, as an eminent and endless Token of our thankful Acceptation of whatsoever hath been given; and as an excellent In-

ducement, for Posterity to imitate these former good Examples.

An other chief Point of the Keeper's Charge, is to range all his Books, as well of the bigger as lesser fold, according to their Faculties; to assign to every Faculty their Catalogues and Tables; and to dispose of every Table the Authors therein named, according to the Alphabet: Where besides the Author's Name, and the Title of his Work, he must be mindful to express, in what kind of Volume the same was Printed, with a Note of the Place, and Year of that Edition. For it so fareth often with a Number of Students, that the Knowledge of some one of these petty Particulars, may turn them

in their Studies to some singular Advantage. Again, whensoever it comes to pass, that of Gift any Gratuity to the University, any Book or Books, Printed, or Manuscripts, or other Writings of Moment, are addressed to the Keeper, to be put among the Rest of his Library-Store; he shall take no longer Respite to see the same effected, than until he may be able, to restore the Defects of the Books and Things delivered; and to trim every Volume, that is not in good Plight, with fit Reparations for Use and Continuance: Whereto the Vice-Chancellor for the time being (whom we do depute, as hereafter shall appear, the Receiver and Guardian of the Library

Rents) shall see him furnished with Mony, and other necessary means, to the full of his Occasions: Whereof he must render a particular Account unto the Vice-Chancellor, to the end the same may be produced as Occasion shall be offered, upon the Vice-Chancellor's own Account: But if it be a Benevolence that doth wholly consist of Ready Mony given, and is put into his Hands to be spent upon Books at his Discretion and Election; he shall fulfil, without Delay, the Desire of him that is the Giver, if their be at that time any present Possibility to procure so many Books, as may suffice for so much Mony: But if they cannot be had upon the suddain, he shall

move the Vice-Chancellor then being, to have the Mony reserved, with the Library Revenue, till Books may be gotten for it; for which he must lay hold upon the soonest Opportunity, and use his uttermost Husbandry in buying, and Judgment in choosing good Authors and Prints, neglecting no Endeavour, that may make for Discharge of his Duty and Trust, and for the Giver's Contentation, to whom he shall first present in a list the Inscriptions and Prices of every single Book, before he doth possess the Library of his Gift; and then ingross the same again (without any mention of their Prices) upon the standing Register of Benefactors.

But now, for as much as this Magazine of Books, was founded altogether for the Publick and Perpetual Commodity of Students, for which it were meet in many Respects, that they should all be made acquainted, with the Days and the Hours, in which they may be still assured, to find the Keeper in that Place; it is thus enacted and decreed, that he shall make no Exemption of any whole Day in all the Year, but only of the Sabbath, the Nativity of our Saviour, the day of Electing the Proctors, and when the Library shall be visited: Nor yet of any half Days, saving only of the Fore-noons, upon the usual Feasts, and days of Solemn Prayers; or of Sermons *ad*

Clerum; and of the After-noons at all such times, as Publick Disputations are used in Divinity. Nevertheless, it may so happen eft-soons, through a multitude of urgent, and not yet thought upon Occasions, that it will be thought behoveful by the Chief Convocation, to admit the like Cessation, at some other times unmentioned: Which then the Keeper ought to publish, by fixing a Schedule on the Door, that is at the Entrance of the School of Divinity. So that setting aside those former Exceptions, we do Ordain and Enjoyn, that the Keeper himself in Person (not letted with Sickness, or other lawful impediment hereafter expressed) shall come continually to the opening

of the Library Doors, and both remain within himself, and give access unto others, in the Morning, from Eight of the Clock to Eleven; and then after Dinner from Two to Five. Which is to be continued from Easter, to the Feast of *St. Michael*: But for the rest of the Year, from One to Four in the After-noon. At these prescribed Hours he shall also cause to be rung the Warning-Bell of his Ingress and Egress, that Men may shun the Discommodities of repairing thither oversoon, or abiding there too long, which the Difference of Clocks may occasion very often, to the Prejudice and Hindrance of himself as well as others.

Be it always here provided, That

for the greater security of the timber Works and Books, no Frequenter of that Place, Graduat or other, nor the Keeper himself, or any Deputy for him, upon any Pretext or Colour, shall enter there by Night, with a Torch, Link, Lamp, Candle, or other kind of Fire-light, upon pain of Deprivation from his Office forever: Nor shall absent himself from thence, but in Cases approved (which shall be specified hereafter) for the space of one Day, or half-day, or any of those Hours, that have bin formerly mentioned, upon pain of forfeiting twenty Shillings, for every time of his Absence, to be defalked from his Salary, and converted to the encreasing of the

Books of the Library.

Moreover, as it may be lawful and free for all comers in (being qualified in such sort, as we shall after declare) to peruse any Volumes, that are chained to the Desks, in the Body of the Library, not forgetting to fasten their Clasps and Strings, to untangle their Chains, and to leave as they found the Books in their Places; (whereas otherwise for their Negligence, they shall be punished by the Purse, at the Will and Arbitriment of the Vice-Chancellor) so for the smaller sized Volumes, in Quarto and Octavo, and such as are within the Grates, and under the Custody of the Keeper alone, that they may not be wasted with

much handling and tossing (being Books of special Worth, for their Antiquity or Rarity, Costliness, or Beauty, or other note of prime Account) it shall be a part of the Keeper's Duty, when any Man is desirous to use any of these kinds, to deliver them out by Hand, and by Tale; and with Condition, that they shall be studied there in Sight, and after presently restored, before the Person goe from thence, upon pain of Satisfaction to the double Value of every Book detained; and (if so be it shall prove a wilful Fact) perpetual Expulsion out of the Library.

Howbeit, because it is meet, we should afford some Leisure to the Keeper, for his private Study

and Contemplation, whereof we should make but a slender Allowance, in case he shall be forced to serve the Turns of every one, as oft as they require to have the use of such Books; it hath been therefore thought expedient, to entertain a daily Minister, which must be evermore at hand, to aid and assist him, and to attend his Directions in all Occasions in the Library; Who must be sworn to be faithful, and for his Skill must be sufficient to seek out, and distribute any Books that are demanded; of which the Keeper himself, or (when he shall be absent) his lawful Deputy shall give out with his own Hands those within the Grates, and but Six at a time of one sort or other: Which

is precisely all the stint, whereto the Keeper shall be subject by our Constitutions; unless by himself he will be won to gratify some Persons by exceeding that Number: Wherein we do require, that he would carry himself uprightly, and content every Student with due respect to his Degree.

And sith the sundry Examples of former Ages, as well in this University, as in other Places of the Realm, have taught us overoften, that the frequent Loan of Books, hath bin a principal Occasion of the Ruin and Destruction of many famous Libraries; It is therefore ordered and decreed to be observed as a Statute of irrevocable Force, that for no Re-

gard, Pretence, or Cause, there shall at any time, any Volume, either of these that are chained, or of others unchained, be given or lent, to any Person or Persons, of whatsoever State or Calling, upon any kind of Caution, or offer of Security, for his faithful Restitution; and that no such Book or Volume shall at any time, by any whatsoever, be carried forth of the Library, for any longer space, or other uses, and Purposes, than, if need so require, to be sold away for altogether, as being superfluous or unprofitable; or changed for some other of a better Edition; or being overworn to be new bound again, and immediately returned, from whence it was removed. For the

Execution whereof in every Particular, there shall no Man intermeddle, but the Keeper himself alone, who is also to proceed with the Knowledge, Liking, and Direction of those Publick Overseers, whose Authority we will notify in other Statutes ensuing.

Furthermore, considering that the Keeper may sometimes, upon Urgence of Business, or Indisposition of Body (whereof he must affirm the Truth upon his Oath, being moved thereunto) desire a Dispensation for his personal Absence from his Charge, the Vice-Chancellor or his Substitute shall have absolute Power, in every such Occasion, to condescend to his Request, for the space of Seven Days every Quar-

ter, to be taken either jointly, or at several times, as his need shall enforce him; with this Restriction notwithstanding, that still his Office be supplied by some learned, able Graduat, of whose Fidelity and Truth, there was never any other, but a publick good Report. Or if the Vice-Chancellor think it fit, (for the Choice of every Substitute, must wholly stand with his, or his Deputy's Good-Liking) he shall take a corporal Oath, to the same or like Effect, as the Keeper did himself, at the time of his Admission. But if so be the Keeper's Case be adjudged so favourable, as he may challenge in Reason, a further Enlargement of his Licence, than is formerly ex-

pressed; then ought the same to be accorded, by way of common Suffrage, in one of the Congregations; least otherwise in Continuance, the Facility of treating with one Man alone, should draw abuse unto it, of procuring Leave for Longer Absence, than shall be fitting, for the Regiment, and good Estate of such Charge.

These Occasions throughly weighed of the Keeper's excessive and incessant Pains about his Function, although they offer unto him more effectual Opportunities, for the Advancement of his Knowledge, together with his Credit, than to any other Student in the University; (which may give him, in some sort, Contentation for his Pains) for the ina-

bling notwithstanding of his private Estate, which will yield him better Leisure, for the managing and following the Affairs of his Office, we do order and ordain, that besides the annual Stipend of twenty Nobles, which was the ancient Donation of King *Henry* the IV*th*, and is to issue forth of the University-treasure through the Hands of the Proctors, he shall enjoy that further Sum of Three and Thirty Pounds Six Shillings and Eight Pence, which is expressed in that Book, by which our late Lands were conveyed unto us, and is to be answered half-yearly by equal Portions; to wit, at the Feasts of St. *Michael* the Arch-Angel, and the Annunciation of the Blessed

Virgin *Mary*, or within three and thirty Days after: And the same to be extracted out of the Library-Revenue by the present Vice-Chancellor: which is also our Direction for the Payment of ten Pounds to the Keeper's Assistant; and of four Pounds besides to some honest poor Scholar, or Servant of the Keeper, whose weekly Charge and Care must be, whensoever the Keeper shall call upon him, to wipe, sweep, and keep clean all the Library-Books, Tables, Shelves, Seats, Closets, Windows, and whatsoever else is subject to the Annoyance of Dust. Wherewithal we understand, That the Choice of these inferior Ministers, shall be committed to the

Keeper's Discretion; the Payment of theirs and all other Stipends, unto the Vice-Chancellor's Care: And their removal from their Places, if so be they shall deserve it, to the Library-Overseers, whose Authority we shall specify in the Statutes following.

We have held it moreover a very needful Caution, for the safer Custody of the aforesaid Revenue, and of all other Sums of Mony, that may hereafter of Benevolence be conferred on the Library, That within the space of Three Days after any Payment made, the same shall be transported to the Place, where the University Rents are kept, and be locked up there in the

Iron-Chest provided purposely for it, under three different Locks, with double Keys to every Lock; which are always to remain with the present Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, to be rendred up with the rest of their Keys, at the several times of their Entrance to their Offices. Wherein notwithstanding, that Imployment of the Proctors shall extend it self no further, than to come with their Keys, when they shall be required by the Vice-Chancellor, to open the Chest; and always to be present, when any Mony is brought in, or extracted by him; whereof the Sum is then and there to be registred with the Vice-Chancellor's own Hand, upon some leiger Book lying in

the same Chest, or in some other like Place, to be afterward subscribed by the Proctors as Eye-witnesses of it: For so it will appear, how all Expences and Receits do answer each other, at the time of the Audit of the Chest-Account.

Now because it is apparent, that Nothing makes more for the Ease of the Keeper, the Quietness of the Students, the Security of the Books, and the Honour and Dignity of the University, than that we should proceed with some choice Limitation, in the Admission of such Persons, as are to study in the Library; we do utterly reject the Opinion of those, that would have no Exception to no Man's Access: For

that a Graunt of so much Scope, would not minister Occasion of daily pestering all the Room, with their gazing; and babling, and trampling up and down, may disturb out of Measure the Endeavours of those that are studious. And therefore not to give way to so great an Inconvenience, we do thus determine and decree; That no Man shall enjoy the Freedom there of Study, but only Doctors and Licentiats of the Three Faculties, Batchelors of Divinity, Masters of Arts, Batchelors of Physick, and Law, Batchelors of Arts of two Years standing, and all other Batchelors; if they come thither in their Habits and Hoods, and there demean themselves with

Reverence, in giving Place to their Superiors, and in seemly Performance of all other Duties. Among these in like manner for special Respect, we do reckon the Sons of the Lords of the Parliament, (for of the Lords themselves there may be no question) and as many besides of all Degrees, as of their zealous Affection to all kind of good Literature, have inriched that store-House with their bountiful Gifts: For it might be well reputed a Point of great Ungratitude, if we should not permit such worthy Contributors, to tast of the Fruit of their own Beneficence. Nevertheless, for the tender Care that must be taken, of the endless Preservation of such

a Cabinet of the Muses, our Intention is this, That before any Graduat formerly mentioned, or any other Person of note and desert, shall begin to put in Practice his Liberty of Entrance, he shall address himself first unto the Vice-Chancellor or his Substitute, and there in the Presence of the Keeper, take the Oath of Fidelity to the Library, which we appoint to be ministred in Manner and Form as followeth.

You shall Promise and Swear in the Presence of Almighty God, That whensoever you shall repair to the Publick Library of this University, you will conform your self to study with Modesty and Silence; and use, both the

Books, and everything else appertaining to their Furniture, with a careful Respect to their longest Conservation: And that neither your self in Person, nor any other whatsoever, by your Procurement or Privity, shall either openly or underhand, by way of embezling, changing, razing, defacing, tearing, cutting, noting, interlining, or by voluntary corrupting, blotting, blurring, or any other manner of mangling or misusing, any one or more of the said Books, either wholly or in part, make any Alteration: But shall hinder and impeach, as much as lieth in you, all and every such Offender or Offenders, by detecting their Demeanour unto the Vice-Chan-

cellor, or to his Deputy then in place, within the next Three Days after it shall come to your Knowledge: so help you God by Christ's Merits, according to the Doctrine of his Holy Evangelists.

Also any other Person, for the Furtherance of his Study in whatsoever Science, although he should be no Contributer, may at any time obtain the aforesaid Freedom of recourse, the same being craved as a Grace in the Congregation-House, and the Oath taken after, before his Admittance. But if any Man presume to intrude himself into that place, without special Permission, before he hath been sworn,

except he come accompanied with one that is sworn, and still remain with him in sight, (who is then upon his Oath, to stand as a Pledge for the other's good Behaviour) besides his corporal Imprisonment for one whole Day, he shall according to the nature of such his Presumption, forfeit so much Mony as shall be awarded by the Vice-Chancellor or his Deputy: Of which the one Moity shall goe to the Keeper, (as of all other pecuniary Forfeitures) and the other to the Use and Benefit of the Library. But if it shall happen in time to come, (whereof we are in good hope we shall never see Example) That any Graduat or other, shall be clearly convicted

to have dismembred, or secretly purloined and conveyed away any Books, Tract or Tracts, Leaf or Leaves of any Volume in the Library; Or to have made any Change in any Line or Lines, Word or Words, Syllable or Letter, in any Author whatsoever; Or shall have known the like offence committed by some other, and not discovered the same, within Three Days after his Notice of it, he shall be publickly disgraded being a Graduat, in the next Congregation of the Regent Masters, and whether he be a Graduat or otherwise, he shall be excluded out of Hand, from taking any Benefit, not only of the Library, but of any further Study, or

Aboad and Continuance in the University. For which the Vice-Chancellor or his Substitute, shall pronounce the Sentence of his Banishment in the open Congregation, and keep a permanent Record, both of the Kind and Quality, of that Delinquent's Perjury, and of the exemplary Punishment inflicted upon it.

And here, although we presuppose, that the Library-Keeper in regard of his liberal Education, his Affection unto Learning, his Credit among Clerks, and his Oath and Duty to the University, will be vigilant and studious in the highest Degree, to preserve a Jewel of such Price, committed to his Trust; Yet because in the Usage of other like

Foundations, we have seen many Precedents of notorious Abuses, even in those that by profession, and in the Opinion of the world, have born the Name and Reputation of Men of excellent Integrity, we have therefore provided, as near as we are able by Discourse and Reach of Reason, to meet with all Omissions and retchless Carriages of the Keeper, by selecting to the Number of eight principal Graduats, to be perpetual Overseers and Visitors of the Library: To wit the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors, or their Deputies, the three Doctors of the Chair, and the King's two Readers of the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Lectures; and unto these, or to the major Part of these, it

shall appertain every Year, the eight of *November*, (unless it be a Sabbath Day, which Munday following shall supply) it being the Day that was solemnised, with our first free entrance into the Library, to visit and survey the State thereof in every Point; for which every Overseer the Eve before, must be personally cited, by some Beadle sent of purpose, from the Vice-Chancellor or his Deputy, to repair thither early the morning following; where the Doors being shut, that they may not be by others interrupted in their Business, and the Keeper secluded, until he shall be called, after a due perusal of these Statutes and Orders, they shall inquire of his

Diligence, In writing the Register of Contributors, and the Alphabetical Tables affixed to the Standerds and Heads of every Desk: In digesting the Authors in their proper Partitions, as the Tables give Direction: In delivering those by hand, that are kept under Locks, and wholly left to his Custody: In speedy bringing in, and present placing of such Books, as shall from time to time be given: In observing his Hours of opening, and shutting, and tarrying in the Library: In excluding all kind of Persons, that are no Freemen of that Place; and In providing for the Books and Buildings, with all the Furniture of the Room, that it may be always freed from

Dust and uncleanness: and That it goe not to decay, by Reason of Wind and Rain coming in at the Casements, or otherwise for want of timely Reparations. For in any of these Points, and in many more Particulars pertaining to his Function, whatsoever is omitted, or misgoverned by the Keeper, the Vice-Chancellor or his Deputy, with the Assent and Assistance of the other Overseers, may admonish, reprove, or reform him for it, by putting in Execution, whatsoever is contained in our present Constitutions: unless the quality of his Crime shall deserve Deprivation: Which is evermore a Punishment, to be publickly practised, by the Censure and

Sentence of that Convocation, by which he was elected.

Sith besides it is usual, in the best contrived Orders of all Common-Wealths, to see a small Toleration of Abuses at first, although they be but seldom suffered, and that by way of Connivance, to engender soon after an irreparable Mischief, to the total Dissolution of the principal Institution; we do therefore Authorise the fore-elected Overseers, and withal we do request and entreat them very earnestly, to attend without fail this principal Good Work of visiting the Library: Wherein according to the Tenour of the Statutes before, they may not only proceed, to examine by Points, how well

the Keeper hath performed the Duties of his Charge, but must direct him besides in his doubtful Proposals, if any Statute be defective, or if any new Accident require a new Proviso, and in every other needful Matter: Whereof their joint Information to the publick Assembly of the Regents and non-Regents, must alwayes procure a speedy-Redress.

They shall, furthermore, in writting set down and appoint (if every one of them agree and condescend thereunto, it being of more Importance, than that it should be overweighed by Plurality of Voices) some Books to be Exchanged for better Editions, and some in like sort to

be clean made away, as being wholly superfluous, or of no Estimation: And some others to be bought with Mony contributed, or with that which is in Stock in the Iron Chest; whereof the Sum to be expended, must be carefully limited, thereafter as the Store may conveniently spare it: Which then the present Vice Chancellor is to pay unto the Keeper, who shall always be tied by virtue of his Oath, to bestow the same as soon as may be, and as they shall enjoin him, or (if they leave him to his Liberty) as he himself shall see Occasion; so that all be disbursed to the best Advantage of the Library, and a faithful reckoning yielded of it, in their next Visitation.

And though it be so, as we are perswaded, that Men of choice Degree, and Learning in this University, such as we have selected, to oversee these Affairs, will (without expecting for it any Jot of Reward) of their meer and hearty Zeal to the Publick Benefit of Students, esteem so small a time, as may serve for that Purpose, to be fruitfully bestowed, we do appoint notwithstanding for Honour's Sake, and of a reverent Respect to their Persons and Professions, that at every Visitation, they shall have the same Day for their Dinner or Supper an Allotment of Forty Shillings, to be taken of the Revenue of the Library-Chest, and spent in what Place the vice-

Chancellor shall appoint within the University; to whose Care and Provision it shall also belong, to cause certain Gloves to be presented by a Beadle, at the time of their Refection, as Memorials and Tokens of the University's Acceptance of their Service that Day. Among which we do allow seven Pairs of Ten Shillings the Pair, to the five Professors of the King's Lectures, and the two Proctors; with one Pair of five Shillings to the Beadle then serving; besides Forty Shillings in Mony to each of the Proctors, in Consideration of their Custody of their Keys to the Chest; and to the Vice-Chancellor one Pair of Gloves of Twenty Shillings Price, or two

Pairs of Ten Shillings the Pair, with Twenty Nobles in Mony in regard of his Cumbers, in receiving and disbursing the Monies of the Library.

Moreover for avoiding Confusion, which will undoubtedly follow the Plurality of Accountants, and for a sound and settled Course, to be constantly continued, first in keeping the Rents and Incomes of the Library; (which are the principal Props, to uphold it for ever in a flourishing Stay) and then in defraying both those afore declared, and all other Charges, as their incident Occasions of either buying, binding, chaining, clasping, or stringing of Books, or the needful repairing of such Decays and

Imperfections, as the Ornament and Works of the inward Structure of the Library, may at any time require; It is intended by us, that the Vice-Chancellor alone and no other, (except it be so, that by his own, or by the Visitor's Ordination, the Keeper shall be charged with some special Disbursment) may have to deal with the Imployment, of the annual Rents of the Library: Or of any Parcel of Mony, that may hereafter by any be conferred upon it. For we cannot but presume, that casting what number of noble Benefactors, have already concurred in a Fervor of Affection, to that Publick Place of Study, we shall be sure in time to come, to find some others

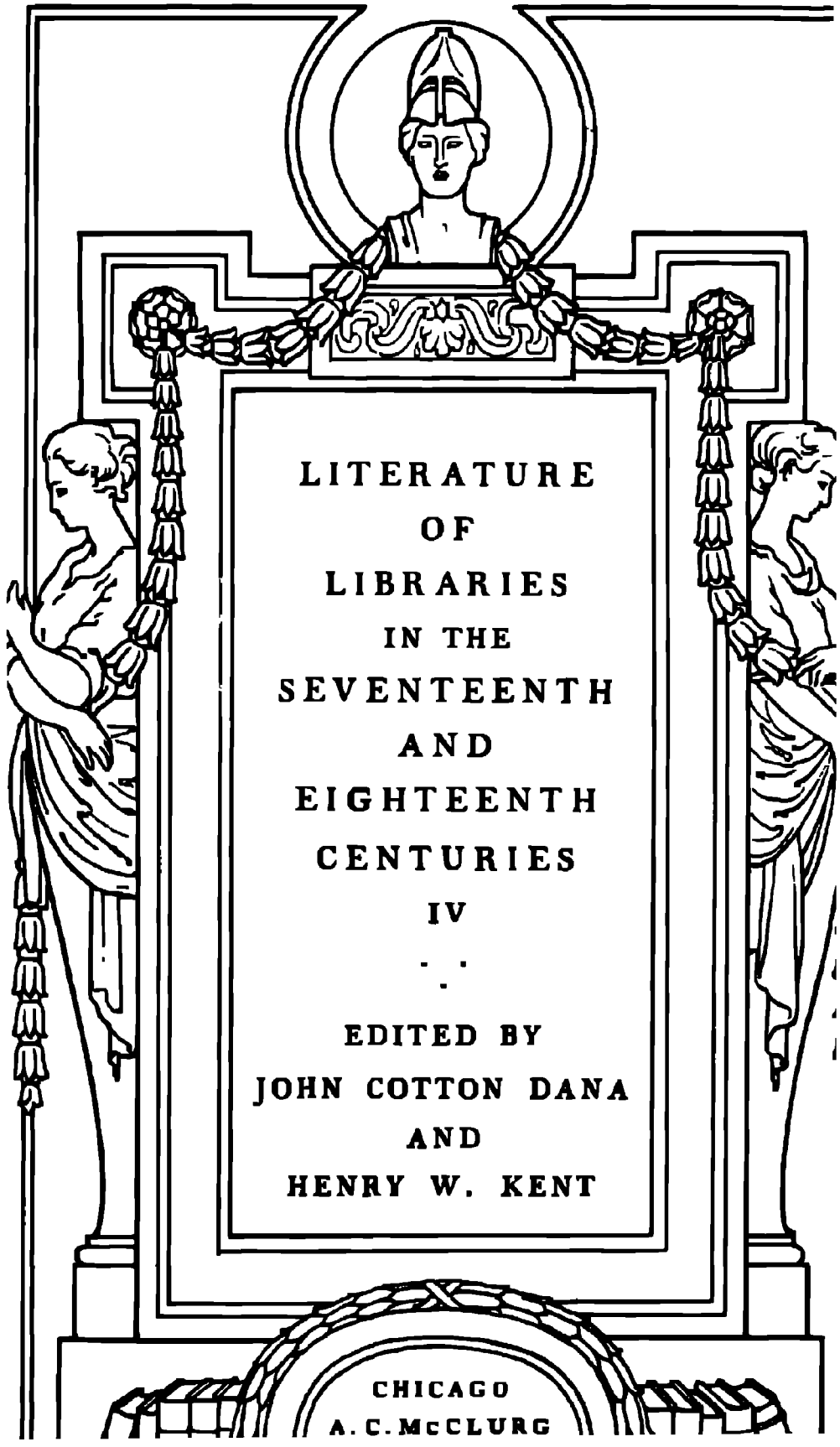
in some Measure, of the Like Disposition to the Advancement of Learning.

Hereupon we do ordain for our final Conclusion, that the Vice-Chancellor for the time being, within fifteen Days after the Expiration of his Year, and of every Year ensuing, in case he be continued more than one in his Office, shall assemble the Library Visitors, together with the Keeper, to view the Mony remaining in the Iron Chest, and there exhibit in writing a faithful Account, of all his Receipts, Extracts, and Expences that Year: which they are presently to audit, with a diligent Inspection into every Clause and Branch: And therewithal before they

part, to return into their Hands his double Keys unto the Chest; Which with his written Account, the Chief Rector of the Chair, or if he should be absent, the Principal there present, shall after deliver to the new Vice-Chancellor in the next Convocation, (which is for that Occasion to be called, when the Doctor shall request it) and there in their Meeting, he shall relate by Word of Mouth, the State of the Chest, and of that Account: and the Account it self in writing, as it was delivered up, shall be presently put into the Chest, or some other Place of Safety. And if it shall appear to the said Convocation, upon the Auditor's Report, or in any other sort, that

the Accountant Vice-Chancellor very loosly regarding the Religion of his Oath, or his own Reputation, hath wasted or mispent some deal of Treasure, belonging to the Library, (which for the eminent Dignity of his Person and Place, and for the Abundance of Trust, that we are always to repose in his Wisdom and Willingness, to administer all uprightly, we can never be induced to surmise of his Stewardship) that present Convocation ought to take Cognition of it, and to tax it with Respect, if it be but a Scape, or Oversight of slender Moment: But if it fall out in Proof to be a manifest Enormity, their Authority shall stretch to censure his Offence,

according to his Merit: and in all our former Acts, Constitutions, and Decrees, to expound and to alter, to abrogate and innovate, to add or to diminish, and to provide in all Events, for the Indemnity of the Library, as for a Treasure to Students of incomparable worth.



LITERATURE OF LIBRARIES IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

IV

EDITED BY

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CHICAGO
A. C. McCLURG

TWO TRACTS ON THE FOUNDING AND MAINTAINING OF PAROCHIAL LIBRARIES IN SCOTLAND

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BY

JAMES KIRKWOOD



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NOTE

NOTE

"*AN Overture for Founding and Maintaining Bibliothecks in every Paroch throughout the Kingdom*" *was published anonymously in* 1699; *the original is now a tract of great rarity. In* 1889 *William Blades reprinted it in facsimile from a copy in the Wigan Public Library. This first tract or* "*overture*" *is traced to Kirkwood by means of a second tract, entitled* "*A Copy of a Letter anent a Project for Erecting a library in every Presbytery, or at least County in the Highlands. From a Reverend Minister of the Scots Nation now in England.*" *The author of these*

tracts, James Kirkwood, was born about 1650 *at Dunbar, Scotland. He was graduated in* 1670 *at Edinburgh University, receiving the degree of M.A. He served John Campbell, Earl of Caithness, as domestic chaplain till May* 12, 1679, *when he was presented by the earl to the parish of Minto. He refused to take the test, and was deprived of this benefice November* 1, 1681, *and removed to England, where he was instituted to the rectory of Astwick, Bedfordshire, March* 1, 1685, *through the favour of Bishop Burnet.*

During his life in the Highlands with the Earl of Caithness' family, Kirkwood had been much impressed by the great ignorance

on the part of the Gaelic people of the scriptures and of all writings, and in 1690 *he began a correspondence with Hon. Robert Boyle on the subject; he succeeded in distributing over three thousand copies of the Bible in Irish in the north of Scotland. Following this work he published the first tract mentioned above. Under the plan therein the parish minister's private books were to form the nucleus of each library, the parish schoolmaster was to be the librarian, and the classification of the work was to be uniform throughout the country. The General Assembly approved the scheme, but did nothing toward carrying it into effect. In Girwod's "Catalogue*

of Scottish Writers," Kirkwood is credited with having established a library for the clergy in the Highlands in 1699.

On March 4, 1703, *Kirkwood was elected a corresponding member of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and on November* 11*th following were read at one of their meetings: "Letters and papers from Mr. Kirkwood relating to the erection of lending libraries in the Highlands." The only further references to Kirkwood that can be traced are that on January* 7, 1702, *he was ejected from the living of Astwick for "neglect in not abjuring according to the statute* 13 *and* 14 *of William III," and that at his*

death, in 1708, *he left his books and papers to the presbytery of Dunbar.*

The editor has made no attempt to alter the spelling of the two tracts, but he has undertaken to set right the compositor's numerous blunders.

TRACT THE FIRST

AN OVERTURE FOR ESTABLISHING OF BIBLIOTHECKS IN EVERY PAROCH THROUGHOUT THIS KINGDOM

IT is as essential to the nature of Mankind to be desirous of Knowledge, as it is for them to be rational Creatures, for we see no other end or use for our Reason, but to seek out and search for the Knowledge of all these things of which we are Ignorant. For *this sore travel hath God given to the sons of men, to be exercised therewith.* That being born Naked, Indigent and Ignorant, we should be forced to enquire by the help of Reason, into the Nature and Know-

ledge of all these things which are about us, and to Invent and Perfect all such Arts and Manufactories, as are necessary for the support of our Lives. All which things are so numerous, and the ways of attaining to the Knowledge of them so difficult, longsome and uncertain, that it would be but a very small Degree, even of the meanest Art or Science, which any man could attain unto by his own particular Study and Observation, if he were destitute of all these Helps we receive from others, by Word and Writing.

Therefore to facilitat this sore Travel, God hath endued Mankind with a Faculty of Speech, whereby they may Teach and

Communicat to one another, all such Knowledges and Observations as shall be found out by any one of them; that so every one studying a part, and contributing the small Mite of his Observations into the publick Stock, they might at length advance Knowledge and Learning to that Degree, which Humane Nature in this lapsed Estate is capable of. And that there might be some considerable Progress made in this Work at first; God did bestow upon the first Men long Lives, with vigorous Imaginations and solid Judgments, that thereby they might both Acquire great Stocks of Knowledge and Observations, and might convoy them, or communicat them

to many Degrees of their Posterity.

But Men abusing this Blessing of long Life, and exercising their Thoughts only upon Evil and that continually: God in his Justice, was provoked to shorten their Lives, and to confound their Languages, whereby this way of conveying Knowledge by Word of Mouth, and Tradition became very imperfect, and lyable to many Inconveniencies: and therefore that these Means of encreasing Knowledge, and of searching out all the Works of God might be still continued amongst Men; God in his Infinite Mercy, was graciously pleased to teach Men a new Way of communicating their

Thoughts and Words, by Writing; which he did when he did write the Law with his own Finger, upon the two Tables of Stone in Mount *Sinai*, that thereby Men might more easily and universally communicat their Observations to all the rest of Mankind, and might more certainly preserve them to all Posterity.

By this Art of Writing, Knowledge and Learning were very much advanced; till Books became so numerous, and the way of writing with a Pen being both dear and slow, Students could acquire only a small number of them, whereby many Books were neglected and lost, and Learning came to a stand, and

then at length fell into a great Decay, for Men turned their Wits and Studies, rather to collect and understand the Writings and Opinions of the Ancients, than to enquire into the Nature of the things themselves, in so much that all Philosophy was turned into the Opinions of *Aristotle*, and *Plato*; and all Theology was lodged in the Opinion of the Church, or in the Popes Infallibility. Yea, Ignorance prevailed to that Degree, that it was encouraged and preached up, as the Mother of Devotion. But at length Printing, which is a more easy, speedy and cheap way than Writing, was Invented; which remedied all these Inconveniencies of Writing, and so recov-

ered Learning at its last Gasp, out of its long continued and almost fatal Decay. Since which time, Learning hath taken on as it were a new growth, and though it be not as yet recovered in several Parts, yet many Arts and Sciences are advanced to a far greater Degree, than what they had attained unto amongst the Ancients. From all which Course of Providence, we may clearly perceive, that it is the Will and Design of our Lord and Maker, that by sore Travel, we should search out and know all his wonderful Works, that we may Admire and Adore his Infinite Wisdom, Goodness, and other Perfections in them. As also, we may perceive that a full

and universal communicating of our Thoughts and Observations to one another, is the necessary and ordinary Means appointed by God, whereby we may Attain unto this natural Knowledge; so that whatsoever Inconveniencies do obstruct this free and universal communicating our Thoughts and Instructions to one another, or do hinder Students from Attaining the Knowledge of all that hath been Discovered before them, must of necessity much retard the Advancement of Learning, and hinder the Encrease of Knowledge amongst us; and therefore do deserve our serious Thoughts, and utmost Endeavours to remove them. Some of these In-

conveniencies are, 1. Books are so vastly multiplied, and do so encrease dayly, that most part of Students either want Money to buy any moderat Collection of them; or 2*ly*, they want Convenience to keep them, for Books are very troublesome to Transport from place to place; or 3*ly*, they have them not in due time, while they are young and free from Cares; for after a Man is settled in the World, then the Cares of his Family, and the Affairs of his Calling, do so take up his Mind, that he can have no time nor heart to study. 4. The Money that is bestowed upon Books must be looked upon as lost; and this certainly is a great Discouragement. 5. Many Books

which a Student shall happen to buy, will after perusal, be found little worth, at least for his purpose, whereby he is lamentably disappointed, and loseth both his Money and time. 6. We live at much distance from these famous Towns where most part of Books are Printed, that there are many useful new Books Printed which we never hear of, and these we hear of, cannot be brought home to us without great Expenses and Trouble. 7. Although a Student had all the Advantages that can be reasonably expected in one man, yet he cannot Acquire all the Books in the World, that may relate to the Subject he studies; and so he will still be uneasie

and suspicious, that there may be something worth his Knowledge in these Books he wants. And it is not to be expected, that any man can advance or improve any Art or Science to a full Degree, till first he have a full and comprehensive Knowledge of all that hath been written and discovered of that Subject before him: and therefore compleat and free Libraries are absolutely necessary for the Improving of Arts and Sciences, and for Advancing of Learning amongst us.

For effectuating of this, and for remeding all the fore-named Inconveniencies, it is modestly conceived with submission to better Judgments, that the Found-

ing and Maintaining of Bibliothecks in every Paroch within this Kingdom, will be a most effectual means, for thereby a Student will have compleat Libraries within a few Miles of the place where he shall happen to reside, out of which he may easily furnish himself from time to time, of all sorts of Books fit for his purpose without Money, and that in his youth, while he hath health and strength to Study, and is free from the cares of the World, neither can he be troubled with useless Books, seing he may presently return them to the Bibliotheck and take others; and Lastly, These Libraries in a few years, will be full and compleat, being fur-

nished, not only with all the valuable and usefull Old Books in any Art or Science, but also with all the valuable New Books, so soon as ever they are heard of or seen in the World, as will clearly be demonstrat afterwards.

The Method and particulars which I think necessary for this Founding and Maintaining of Bibliothecks in every Paroch throughout this Kingdom, are these.

1*st*. A convenient place in every Paroch must be set a part, and fitted for keeping of Books.

2*ly*. Every present Minister must give in all his Books, to the Bibliotheck of his own Paroch, at the sight of the Heretors of the Paroch, who shall cause rank

them conform to their volumns, and shall cause take exact Alphabetical Catalogues of them, with the place where, and the time when they are Printed, of which Catalogues, there must be four principal Coppies subscribed by the Minister and Heretors of each Paroch; whereof one Copy shal be kept by the Minister, as an obligation upon the Paroch till he be payed for his Books, another shall be kept by the Heretors in a litle Chist in the Bibliotheck, that it may be an obligation upon the Keeper of the Bibliotheck, to be answerable for all these Books; the third must be kept in the Bibliotheck openly, that any Heretor of the Paroch, or Minister of the

Presbyterie may get a double of it when they please; and the fourth Copy shall be sent to the principal Library at *Edinburgh*, to [be] kept there for several uses.

3dly. For avoiding all debates and difficulties, that may arise between Heretors and Ministers in valuing these Books, it will be fit that some Ministers and Heretors be appointed to draw out a general Catalogue of all the Books in the Kingdom, out of those particular Catalogues that shall be sent in to *Edinburgh* from every Paroch, and to set a certain price upon each Book; which general Catalogues with the price affixed to each Book, shall be Printed and distributed

through every Paroch of the Kingdom, conform to which Catalogue, the Books in every Paroch shall be valued: or there may be laid down some general rules for valuing of Books at so much *per* Sheet, and so much for Binding.

4*tly*. When any Minister shall die, or be removed from one Kirk to an other, then he or his Heirs or Assigneys, shall have right to all the Stipends of that Paroch to which he gave in his Books, ay and while he be payed of their full value conform to the Catalogue: and the Ministers of the Presbytery shall supply that Kirk during that time, but if the Paroch cannot conveniently want a Minister so long, then the

succeeding Minister shall want such a proportional part of the Stipend as shall be thought fit, which shall be payed yearly to the first Minister, his Heirs or assigneys, till the full value of his Books be payed.

5thly. Where the Kirks are vacant, the Ministers of the Presbyterie with the Heretors of the Paroch, shall have power to bestow all the vacant Stipends of that Kirk, upon such Books as they shall think most fit and necessary for the Bibleotheck of that Kirk.

6thly. Each Presbyterie shall endeavour to be a compleat Library within it self, that is, they shall endeavour to have one Copy at least, of every valuable

Book extant in some one Bibliotheck or other within their bounds; wherefore it will be necessar that all the Ministers in one Presbyterie, compare their Catalogues, and consider of what Books they have more Coppies then are needful amongst them, and what Books they think useful; of which they have no Coppies at all, that they may exchange the Books they have for these they want, conform to the value set on each Book by the general Catalogue.

7*thly*. The keeper of the Bibleotheck, who may be the Reader or School-master of the Paroch, must find caution to the Minister and Heretors, to be faithful in keeping the Books, and in

preserving them from all inconveniencies; and he shall not lend out any Book but to an Heretor of the Paroch, or to a Minister of the Presbyterie, or to such persons residing within the Paroch as shall find sufficient caution for all the Books they get out of the Library, and he shall take obligations from them all, that they shall restore the Books in good condition, and within such a set time as may be sufficient for reading the Book, but within one Moneth at farthest; that so an Heretor may not defraud the rest of the use of any Book. And for preventing the imbazling the Books of thir Libraries, it is fit there be a note written upon the reverse of the Title page, and

on the last leaf of each Book Subscribed by the Minister, declaring that the Book belongeth to the Bibleotheck of such a Paroch, so that wherever any Book shall be found wanting the Title page and the last leaf, it may be suspected to be stollen from the Libraries, and so may be confiscat to their use.

8*thly*. It will be convenient that there be a Book binder in every Presbyterie, to bind all the Books that belong to that Presbyterie, for which end he must be provided with a House, and all the Instruments fit for his Trade, and with some small Stipend yearly to maintain him; and then whatsoever Books he shall bind he shall be payed only

for the materials, but nothing for his work; or the keepers of the Bibleotheck or Ministers Servants may be taught to bind Books, and may easiely bind all the new Books that shall be given in to that Library in Sheets.

9*thly*. It will be convenient that all the Bibliothicks in the Kingdom observe the same method of ranking and placeing their Books: which method may be to rank the Books according to their name and number, in the general Catalogue, which name and number must be written upon a piece of paper, and battered to the back of the Book, or to some leaf of it, that it may be easiely seen and read, by any person that comes into the Bi-

bliothick, that so Ministers or Students, when they shall happen to remove from one Paroch or Bibliothick to another, they may not be at a loss where to find any Book, for by this method they will presently know in what place every Book should stand.

These are all the particulars which I think necessary for the present for founding of Bibliothicks in every Paroch, but for the maintaining and promoting these it will be necessary further, that

10*thly*. One Moneths Cess to be payed yearly, to be settled as a Fond for buying and Printing, all such Books New or Old, as shall be judged valuable and

usefull to be distributed through the Kingdom, and every Bibliotheck in the Kingdom shall get a Copy of every Book that shall be printed: the one half of this Moneths Cess must be payed by the Heretors conform to their Valuations, the other half by the Ministers conform to the proportions of their Stipends.

11*thly*. This Money or Fond must be entrusted to some honest Person or Persons, who shall therewith Erect a Printing-House, and Paper Manufactory, and shall settle and maintain a Correspondence with all the Printing presses abroad throughout *Europe*, and shall bring home some Coppies of all the Books that shall be Printed, as

soon as possible, and shall Reprint all such Books whether New or Old, as shall be judged fitting, or worthy to be distributed through the Kingdom, and they shall be oblidged to give up Accompts how the Money is bestowed, from time to time to such Ministers and others, as shall be appointed to receive, and examine the same.

12*thly*. A Commission of the General Assembly must be appointed, to Revise all the New Books that are brought home from time to time, and to give some short Account of them in Print, or to employ such persons as they shall judge most fit for that Work: and to Revise all the Old Books, and to determine

what Books shall be Printed every Moneth, and to receive and examine the Printers Accompts.

This is a Method which I think will be both easie and effectual for establishing, and promoting of Bibliothecks in every Paroch throughout this Kingdom, neither do I foresee any material Objection, that can be made against any particular Article of it.

For it shall be Objected against the second Article, by some of the present Ministers, that if they shall happen hereafter to be removed from their paroch to another, they will be at a great loss for want of these Books, with which they have been accustomed of a long time.

This is easily answered, for

when a Minister is removed from one paroch to another, he will immediatly have a right to all, or at least a part of the Stipends of that paroch, till he be payed for his Books, and then with that Money he may buy what Books he thinks most necessary for himself, and give in to the Library of that other paroch to which he shal be Transplanted, and be payed for them after his removal.

It may be further Objected by the Ministers, that when the publick is Debitor, it is sometimes difficult to get payment; but this Objection is groundless here for in this case the publick is not Debitor, but every privat man is Debitor for his proportion of the

vacant Stipends, to the Minister himself, or his Heirs and Assigneys, ay and while he be payed for all the Books he gave in to the Bibliotheck of that paroch.

But that which should move the Ministers to comply willing with this Article is, that thereby they both retain the use of their Books, and also secure the value of them, to themselves or their Heirs, whereas otherwise they might be lost or Sold for very little.

It may be Objected by others against the tenth Article, that one Moneths Cess, which amounts to 72000 pounds *Scots* by year, will be too great a Fond for buying and printing of Books yearly.

To this I answer, that if it be too great it must be so, either in respect of the *Books* it will buy and print, or in respect of the *Persons* that may pay it; but it is not too great in respect of the *Books* it will buy and print, but rather too little, for the printing of an large Book as the five volumns of *Pools Criticks* upon the Bible, will more than exhaust all, and then what shal bring home New Books and Re-print them, and what shall maintain the Correspondence with all the printing places in *Europe*.

Neither is it too great in respect of the *Persons* that must pay it, for the half of it which is to be payed by the Heretors, is only the 1/20 part of their valued

Rent, and their valued Rent is ordinarly but the third part of their real Rent, so that an Heretor of one thousand and two hundred pounds *Scots* of valued Rent which is commonly 3600 pounds of real Rent, shall pay only ten pounds *Scots* yearly, for maintaining and promoting of these Bibliothecks. And certainly it would be very unworthy of any Gentleman of such a Rent, to grudge the paying of ten pound *Scots* yearly, when for it, he, his Children and Tennents may have the free use of a well furnished Library, and of all the new Books & Gazets so soon as ever they are Printed. And I believe most part of Gentlemen bestow more than this Propor-

tion of their Rents upon Books yearly, & yet are but very insufficiently provided. Yea, many Noblemen and Gentlemen bestow more upon News; so that this half Months Cess will be no new Burden upon them, but a more effectual and profitable way of bestowing that Money upon Books and News, which now is Expended to little or no purpose.

As for the other half Months Cess which is to be payed by the Ministers, certainly none of them will grudge at it, seing any Ministers Share of it (even although it were divided amongst them by equal Parts) will amount only to 36 pounds *Scots*, which is not so much as the

yearly Annualrent of that Sum, which now a Minister must necessarly be supposed to bestow upon Books, before he can be any way tolerably furnished for his Studies. For supposing there be 1000 Ministers in *Scotland* that shall have Libraries for their own use; then each Ministers Share of this 36000 pounds *Scots*, will be only 36 pound, which is only the Annualrent of 600 pounds *Scots*: and I believe there are few present Ministers, but have bestowed more than this Sum upon Books, so that the half Months Cess upon them, is not to be looked upon as a Burthen, but as a way to preserve their Money, seing by this Method, the yearly Annualrent of a small

Sum of Money, will furnish them with a compleat Library, and incomparably more Books, than both the Stock and Annualrent of a far greater Sum can do otherways.

But further, there are several other Considerations which may make the Ministers willing condescend to this Article; for either they may prevail with the king & parliament to ordain this half Months Cess to be payed out of the Bishops Rents, or to lay it on upon the Teinds of the Kingdom, which do justly belong to the Maintainance of the Worship of God, or some honest hearted Patron Titular of the Teinds, may Gift or Mortifie as much as may free his Minister of his Pro-

portion of it. But though none of these should succeed at present, yet the Tacks of the Teinds must run out at length, and then the Kirk will be sufficiently provided, not only to pay this half Months Cess, but even to pay the WHOLE, and free the Heretors of their SHARE of it.

It may be objected by others, that the Fond will be too little, and the Work will be but small and contemptible. But it is answered, That though it may be small at the beginning, yet it will not be despicable, for we know that *Rome* was not all built in one day, and it is demonstrable, that these Libraries will by this Fond in a few years become very great and considerable, so that the

very meanest of them may compare with the most famous Libraries in the World; for this Fond will Print nine or ten Sheets of Paper dayly, which is enough for any man to read; and this 10 Sheets dayly, will be 3000 Sheets yearly, which will be ten large Volumns of 300 Sheets to each Volumn; so that in 100 years, this will be 1000 large Volumns, consisting of three hundred thousand Sheets of Paper; which with the Books that will be given in to the Libraries from time to time, by the Ministers and Heretors, may do much to comprehend all the valuable Books extant.

But further, this Degree of Perfection in these Libraries, may

be much sooner attained, if the King and Parliament shall think fit to Augment this Cess upon the Heretors for some years, or for Printing of some select Books; or if a more easie and speedy way of Printing can be Invented than what is now in use, which I am perswaded may be done, if men of Sense were encouraged to apply themselves unto it.

Lastly, it may be objected that the different Perswasions amongst Ministers may mar all this Work; But it is answered, That though the different Perswasions amongst Ministers, may obstruct the free borrowing and lending of Books amongst them, yet that needs be no hin-

derance to the settling and increasing of the Bibliothecks in every Paroch, or to the paying of their Shares for maintaining of the Printing House, and for Printing such Books as shall be thought most necessary.

What hath been said, I hope is sufficient to convince any man, that there is no difficulty in this Work, if we be willing to set about it. Therefore I shall in the next place, lay before you some Considerations taken, 1. From the Advantagiousness of the Work. 2. From the Honourableness of it. And 3. From the Duty that lies upon us to provide our Ministers in all things necessary for their Ministry, which may serve for Arguments to per-

swade all persons willingly and cordially to set about this Work.

1. This Establishing of Bibliothecks in every Paroch, will not only remedy the forementioned Inconveniencies and Difficulties of Students, but it will be several ways Advantageous to the Countrey, For 1. It will be a considerable Manufactory, and will Maintain many People at Work. 2. It will keep all that Money in the Kingdom, which now goes out for buying of Books and Paper. 3. It will encourage young Men to follow their Studies in their own Countrey, and thereby prevent their spending their Fortunes Abroad, and many other considerable Inconveniencies that young Men are ex-

posed unto in strange Countreys. 4. It will allure and provoke Gentlemen to bestow their spare Hours in reading of new Books, which may prove a good Means to restrain them from Gaming and Drinking, by preventing that uneasie and wearisome Idleness of Mind, which is the Parent of these, and many other Enormities. 5. It will in a short time, carry away the whole Trade of Printing from all the rest of *Europe*.

But 2. As this Establishing of Bibliothecks in every Paroch will be Advantageous, so it will be very Honourable to this Countrey. For 1. We shall not only be the first and the only Nation for a while, that shal have this

regular and useful plenty of Books. But 2. Hereby all sorts of Learning will mightily encrease and flourish amongst us, and though we be not a great or a rich People, yet we may be a wise and a learned People. Yea further, these Libraries in two or three hundred years will be so full and compleat, that the Most Famous and Magnificent Libraries in the World, shal not outdo the meanest Library in any Paroch of this Kingdom, for numbers of valuable and useful Books, as hath been already demonstrat.

3. If it be our Duty to provide our Ministers with all things necessary for them as a competent Stipend, Manse and Gleib,

that they being free from worldly Cares, may have time to study and Instruct their People. Then certainly it must much more be our Duty, to provide them with competent Libraries of the most useful Books, seing without these they cannot study, nor be fitted sufficiently for Instructing their People in the Truths of their Religion.

4*thly*. Seing God hath made all men by nature desirous of Knowledge, undoubtedly the satisfying of this desire, must be a considerable part of our natural felicity; for the only delight of our Souls, which are our better part, in which the Body doth not partake, is the delight She taketh in Knowledge and Con-

templation. And seing God hath so ordered it, that the most part of our Knowledge should be communicat to us from our Forefathers, and Contemporaries, especially by their Books and Writings, It doth necessarly follow, that the establishing and promoting of Libraries in every Paroch, whereby the use of all sorts of Books may be rendered most free and universal, and may be perfectly secured to all our posterity, will be a very effectual means of increasing Knowledge and Learning amongst us, and of helping us, and our posterity to search out all the Works of our God, that we may admire and adore his Infinit Wisdom and Goodness, in making them

such, and in so wonderfully disposing of them for his own purposes and Glory, which seems to be one principal end, for which our Blessed Maker hath made us rational Creatures.

These things being duely considered, I hope what hath been said will be sufficient, to perswade all lovers, and encouragers of Learning, that this founding and promoting of Bibliothecks in every Paroch throughout this Kingdom, is both necessary and easie, advantagious and honourable, our Interest and our Duty.

FINIS

TRACT THE SECOND

A COPY OF A LETTER ANENT A PROJECT, FOR ERECTING A LIBRARY IN EVERY PRESBYTRY, OR AT LEAST COUNTY, IN THE HIGHLANDS

YOU may remember, That I had some Discourse with you, when I was in *Scotland;* About Libraries for the *Highlands*, at which time also I shewed you a Schem, about ordering the Libraries. Since that time, I have not been unmindful, of what then I only in general hinted at. My Bodily distempers, together with the small hopes I had, of any great success, hindred me from setting on foot this design; which now at last I have ventured upon.

The great examples of Charity, which this Kingdom affords, particularly in what concerns Libraries for the Plantations, have animated and disposed me, to fall to work, and to try what may be done for those in our Native Country, who need such helps and encouragements as much as any. I need not say much about the Reasons for this Undertaking. The Printed Paper which I send you, will show how great and important they are, and it is likely, your own knowledge and observation, will furnish you with others.

I thought fit to mention the kinds of Books which we intend to purchase; That they who give Books, and not Money may

know what sort of Treatises we aim at, and may not put us off with trash. As for Popish Books and perhaps some others likeways, tho they be not fit for the weaker sort of People; yet for the Library of a Divine they are convenient and necessary, that so they may be the more able to deal with the Adversary. I suppose no body of any discretion or Learning will question this.

At the end of the Printed Paper, you find mention made of the Schem I hinted at; I thought it necessary, ere I make it publick to send it to you, to peruse it, and shew it to the Assembly, or Commission of the Kirk, that such Additions or Alterations, may be made as shall

be judged necessary, that so they who intend to assist us, in this Work, may be assured, care will be taken, by those who are in the Government to secure and preserve their charity, and to doe all they can to render the Books useful.

Tho some of the Rules, which are proposed to be observed, in ordering the Libraries, may at first Reading, seem hard, yet upon due Consideration, it will be found very necessary, to use a great deal of strictness, and exactness in this Affair. They who know the World, but a little, and have seen the fate of some Libraries, will Reckon the outmost precaution, we can use little enough to prevent what

otherwayes, will be unavoidable. It's a work of no small difficulty, to purchase a parcel of good Books, for publick advantage, nor is it less difficult to preserve and secure them for posterity, when they are purchased.

It would be of some advantage to this design, if you and some others of the Ministry, would write to some Ministers of the Presbyterian way, at *London* to move them to concurr in this Affair: And if to all this were added some endeavours in *Scotland*, to procure some Books, or Money to buy them, we might then hope to get Libraries erected in Each Presbytry-Seat of the *Highlands*, and perhaps for *Ork-*

ney and *Zetland*, whose need of Books is likewayes apparent.

I know your sence of these things, and your Zeal to promote solid Piety, and useful Learning, will prompt you to do your outmost in this undertaking: And no doubt, they who are inspired with true Principles of Charity, and are concerned for the interest of common Christianity, will with all chearfulness, accept of this or any other the like opportunity of doing good.

For my own part, I am willing to doe what I can, in this design which I know to be very necessary. And if after all, the success do not answer my wishes, I will sit down satisfied, with my having done the best I could,

which I know my good GOD will accept of.

I am not insensible of the opposition and discouragement which this or any other pious and useful Design is sure to meet with. Satan will not be wanting to doe what he can to hinder what tends to the weakening his Interest in the World, of this I have seen too many instances to be daunted thereby. If the Love of GOD prevail in us it will make us despise all such Rubbs and Discouragements, and to goe on in the strength of the LORD, who will not fail us, or forsake us. He often by weak means and despicable Instruments brings mighty things to pass.

They who know the low estate

of Religion in the World, and how fast Popery and Deism, yea and Atheism, prevail everywhere, will think themselves oblidged heartily and zealously to concurr, with all those who take any Rational and feasible course to propagate Christian Knowledge, and to hinder the restless and Wicked Endeavours, of those who labour to corrupt if not to root out our Holy Religion.

Perhaps you have heard what excellent Designs are formed both by the Corporation, and by the society for propagating Christian Knowledge. They are settleing a Correspondence with some Learned and Pious Divines, of Forreign Churches and

have sent them a great many Treatises, some of which have been translated into other Languages, for the benefite of these who understand not English.

And whereas the Plantations have been generally neglected, there is now great care taken, to have Ministers sent amongst them and Schools Erected, and good Books provided for them.

I send you the Printed Paper, together with the Project, about ordering the Libraries, that you may have time to prepare matters relating to this designe before the Assembly meets, that what is necessary to be done, may be dispatched with greater conveniencie, amidst the croud of other business. It is fit to let

me know, as soon as you can, what the Assembly resolves, and agrees to, in this matter, that so they that wish well to this Undertaking, may be encouraged to goe on with chearfulness, when they see that their labour and charge will not be lost.

As to what is said, in the Printed Paper about the poverty of our Nation, which is given as the reason, why we trouble Strangers with this affair. I hope none of my Countrie men will take offence at it; The Truth of this is too much felt at home, and too well known abroad, to be denyed. It were well if such sufferings did awaken those who are asleep in their Sin, and cure

such as are apt to be so fond and proud of perishing things. But if any are so vain and foolish as too Censure this Paragraph, Their best way of confutation, is to take an effectual and speedy course, to provide a competent number of Libraries, for such parts of our native Countrie, as need them most. There is none amongst us here, but will be glad, to see this work Undertaken and finished by these in *Scotland* whose concern and interest it is cheifly to have it done.

May our good God direct and prosper, all those who sincerly set themselves, to do the best they can, for his Glory and the real happiness, and welfare of

men. In which Prayer I know you will readily joyne with,

Your affectionat Brother.

AN ACCOUNT OF A DESIGN ABOUT ERECTING SOME LIBRARIES IN THE HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND, FOR THE USE CHIEFLY OF MINISTERS AND PROBATIONERS

THE Reasons for setting on foot this Design, are,

I. The great scarcity of Books among the Ministers in those Parts, some of them hardly having so many as are worth twenty shillings.

II. The small Provision many of them have in the *Highlands* (tho in other parts of the Kingdom, Ministers are for the most part, much better provided for) so that very few of them can spare anything out of their poor

livings toward the purchasing of Books.

III. The great industry of the *Romish Missionaries* amongst them makes it necessary for them to be tolerably provided with such Books, as may enable them to encounter their Adversaries.

IV. The gross ignorance of the People in those parts, together with some late endeavours to seduce the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Hirta* into a state of Heathenism, make it very necessary that they should be provided with such Treatises as prove the Truth of the Christian Religion.

V. The Excellent Parts and Capacities of the Ministers generally throughout the *High-*

lands; as they invite generous and charitable Persons to afford them what assistance they can, in this kind; so they give good ground to expect much fruit from such a Charity.

VI. As such Libraries will be of extraordinary Advantage to the Ministers, so they will be greatly useful to such young men as intend for the Sacred Office, who cannot acquire any tolerable measure of necessary and useful knowledge, unless they are furnish'd with a sufficient number of good Books.

VII. To all which must be added their great distance from all such places where they might either buy or borrow such Books as are useful to them.

To Answer in part the above-mention'd Design, it is intended, to have one Library in each County of the *Highlands;* except where there are but few Parishes, in which case, one Library is at first to serve two or three Counties: Their Number may be afterwards increased as Encouragement is given.

The Money or Books which shall be given, may be put into the hands of Mr. *Taylor* a Book-seller at the Ship, or of Mr. *Robinson* at the Golden Lion in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, who will give the Benefactors a note of what Money or Books shall be intrusted to them.

If it be asked, Why we trouble strangers with this affair, and do

not transact it altogether among our own Country-men? The Answer in short is this; The Nation's poverty, (occasioned chiefly by their great losses at Sea, the decay of Trade, the great Dearth of Corn, and the Death of Cattle for some Years together, to say nothing of several other things which might be named) renders the People generally unable to do much by way of Charity; nevertheless there are not wanting those amongst them, who amidst their straights and wants, are forward to promote this or any other good Design, even beyond their Power.

As for those good People in both Kingdoms, who sometime

ago, did freely and largely contribute towards the Printing of Bibles in *Irish*, for the use of the poorer sort of *Highlanders*, (the success of which Charitable Work, thro' God's Blessing, hath been very great even beyond our hopes) it is not doubted but they will give all encouragement to this undertaking, either by bestowing such useful Books as they can spare, or by giving money to buy them. And altho' we know that the Humble and Devout followers of our great Master *Jesus*, desire not to be seen of Men, nor to have their works published to the World; yet as a Motive to others and in Testimony of Gratitude towards those who encourage this good

Design, we propose to set down in each Book, and in the Catalogues of each Library, the Names of the Benefactors.

Rules *about ordering some* Liberaries *intended for the* Highlands.

1. Care is to be taken, the Books be deposited in such places as may best suit the exigences of the Country, especially at such Presbytry-seats as ly in the center of the bounds, which are to be supplyed.

2. That they be intrusted to the care of the Minister and Schoolmaster of the place, unless there be two ministers Officiating there, in which case they must have the charge of the Books.

3. That the Books be kept un-

der Lock and Key in good and strong presses, to be placed in a pure and dry Air free from dampness.

4. That each Press have two Locks and two Keys, whereof one Key is to be in the hands of the Minister, and the other of the School-master unless there be two Ministers serving at the place; and then each of them may have a Key.

5. Some Books being of so general Use, that to lend them abroad, were the ready way to frustrate the Design. Therefore it may be specified by an Act of the Synod or Presbytry of the bounds, what books in their list may not be lent abroad.

6. That no Books be lent to

any, but Preachers or School-masters, or Students living within such Bounds, as shall be assigned by the Presbytry, Synod or Assembly.

7. That he who borrows any Book, Consign a fourth part more than the real Value of it; thereby to prevent the turning the Libraries into book-sellers Shops.

8. Besides, the Borrower of any Treatise, ought to enter his name into a Book of the Library to be provided for that purpose together with the time in which he is to restore it, upon pain of forfeiting the Money Consigned. This seems likeways needful to prevent the embezelling of the Books.

9. That they who live at places 15 or 20 Miles distant be obliged to restore the Book they borrow within a Fourtnight, if an 8*vo*. within three weeks, if a 4*to*. within a Month or 6 Weeks, if a Folio. They who live a great way further, may be allowed a week or fourtnight more, but a long time ought not to be granted, that so others who need the keep of such Books, may have the benefit of them.

10. When it happens, that the Money which was consigned is forfeited, care should be taken, that it be not bestowed without the Advice of the Synod or Presbytry of the bounds, or of the Committee appointed for such occasions.

11. That each Presbytry and Synod, have a Catalogue of the Books appropriated to their bounds.

12. That besides the above-mentioned Catalogue, there be likeways a List of the Books in each Library, fairly writen upon a large Sheet of Paper or Parchment, and placed conveniently in the Apartment where the Presbytry or Synod of the bounds does meet; that so both Ministers and Probationers may the more readily know what Books there are to be borrowed when they have occasion for them.

13. That the Presbytry once every half Year, visit the Library or Libraries of their bounds; and that they make report to

the Synod of their Diligence, and in what condition they find the Books &c.

14. That the Synod likeways once in two or three Years, send some of their Number to inspect the publick Library or Libraries in their bounds, and to report in what case they are, and how these and other necessary Rules, which shall be thought upon are observed.

15. That the Library-Keepers do not presume to exchange the Books.

16. If any Book which is lent, be spoilt, torne, or in any sort abused. In this case, they who have the charge of the Books, shall not restore the Money Consigned, till first they have ac-

quainted the Presbytry or Synod of the bounds, where it may be determined what shall be done.

17. That care be taken, the persons who shall be appointed Depositaries of the Books be Responsable Men and of blameless Reputation.

18. That they who are intrusted with the Charge of the Books, give good Security to leave them in as good case as they were in, when they were first intrusted with them.

19. That in case of the removeal of the persons who have this Trust, they be obliged to make good what Books are wanting, or spoilt and abused, or in case of their decease their Heirs do it.

20. That they who have charge of the Books, may know what Money to require to be Consigned by those who borrow any of them, it will be convenient either for the Synod of the bounds or some other Ecclesiastical Judicature, by some of their Number best skilled in Books, to assign the prices of each book in their publick Library as they may be bought in *Scotland*, withal reckoning for the charge of Transporting them. The prices of the Books may be inserted in the Catalogues.

21. If it happen that any one, or both the persons who have charge of the Books, have occasion to go a great way from home. It will be necessary the

Keyes be left behind them, in the hands of persons of Integrity and Discretion, who may either lend out or receive in the Books, always observing the Condition abovementioned.

22. If the Minister or Schoolmasters place become Void by Removeal, Death, or otherways; The Presbytry of the bounds, shall nominate others in their stead, for the charge and trust of the Books.

23. That upon the delivering of the Books at first to those, who shall be intrusted with the Keeping of them, the condition of every Book be, as to Binding and otherways, expressed in writing, by the inspection of two or more, who shall be deputed

by the Presbytry or Synod of the bounds for that effect.

24. That for the greater security, the List of the Books be insert in the Register of the Presbytry and Synod of the bounds.

25. That no Gentleman who is not a Benefactor to the Library, have the priviledge of borrowing any Books.

26. No Book shall be lent, unless the person who comes for it bring with him conveniencies to carry it without damnage.

27. No person at any one time, shall have more then two books.

28. If any do neglect to return any Book by the time limited, the Librarian shall take care to send him notice, the charge of which message he shall pay, be-

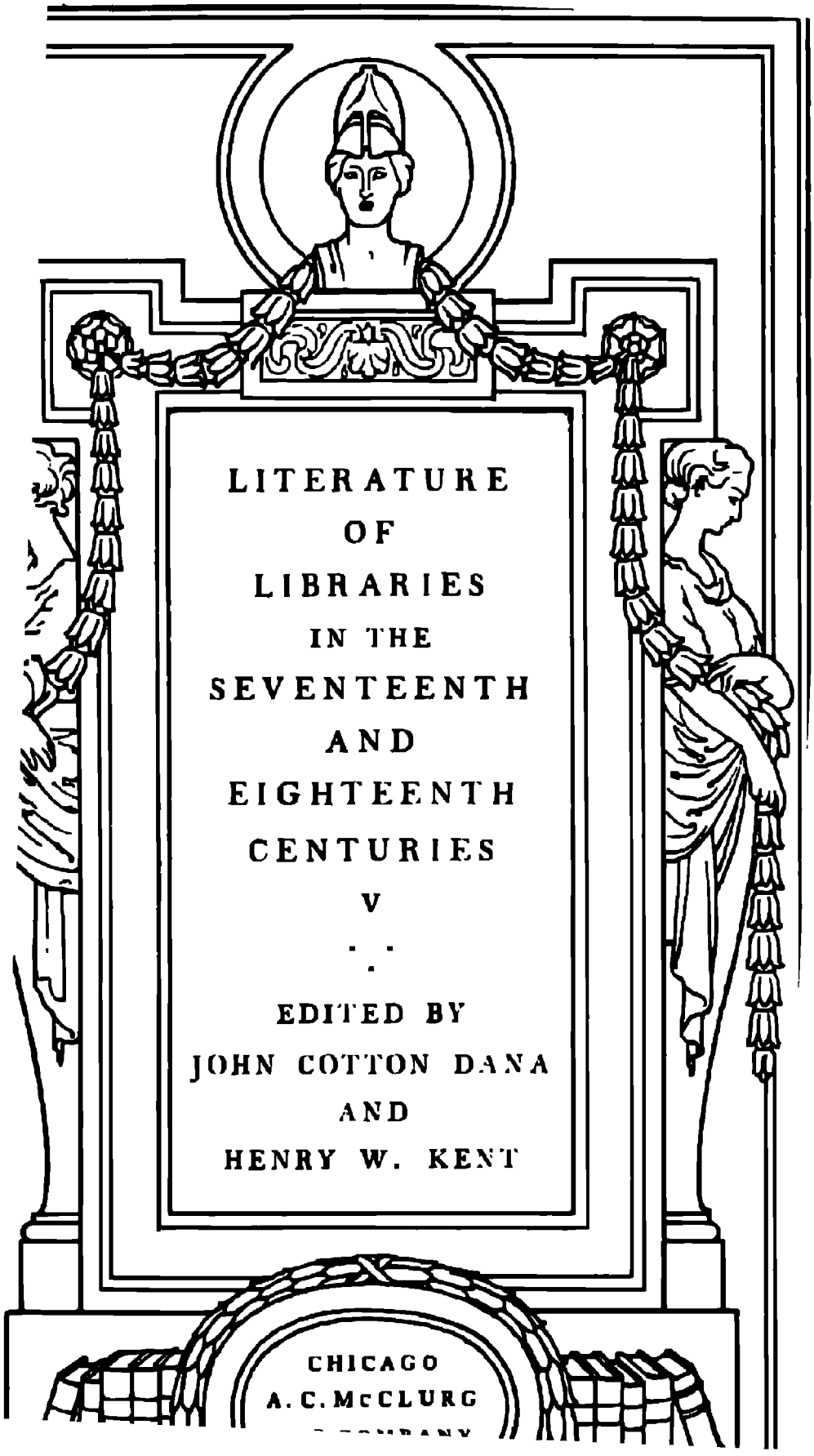
sides the forfeiture.

29. That it be marked on each Book, to what Library and County it belongs.

Courteous Reader,

Advertisement

The Author of this Letter, is a Person who hath a great Zeal for propagating the Knowledge of GOD, in the Highlands *of* Scotland, *and is the same who did promote Contributions for the Printing of* Bibles *in the* Irish *Language and sent so many of them down to* Scotland; *And there is no news he more earnestly desires to know, than what the G. A. doth whenever it meeteth, for promoting the Interests of the Gospel in the Highlands.*



LITERATURE OF LIBRARIES IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

V

EDITED BY
JOHN COTTON DANA
AND
HENRY W. KENT

CHICAGO
A. C. McCLURG
COMPANY

A BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF LIBRARIES

An Edition of two hundred and fifty copies in this form and one of twenty-five copies on Large Paper were printed at The Merrymount Press, Boston, in May, 1907

A BRIEF OUTLINE OF

THE HISTORY OF LIBRARIES

BY

JUSTUS LIPSIUS

TRANSLATED FROM THE SECOND EDITION (ANTWERP, THE PLANTIN PRESS JOHN MORETUS, 1607)

THE LAST FROM THE HAND OF THE AUTHOR

BY

JOHN COTTON DANA



CHICAGO

A. C. McCLURG & CO.

MDCCCCVII

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NOTE

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

FEW of the biographers of Justus Lipsius have devoted their attention to that part of his writings which, in an English translation by John Cotton Dana, is here offered to lovers of libraries. They have found matters of greater importance to the world at large in the chief things of his life,—his theological, historical and literary writings. Mr. Peter Bayle, in his famous *General Dictionary*, which first appeared in 1697, and afterwards Englished, in 1710, says in this connection, as an introduction to his own contribution to Lipsius's biography:

"I might relate a great many curious particulars concerning him; but as others * have already collected them, and have not even omitted what relates to his education and his early learning, I am obliged to confine myself to such particulars as they have not mentioned." These particulars related to one of Lipsius's greatest faults, for which he was chiefly censured,—his inconsistency with regard to religious beliefs,—and they take on an additional interest when treated by Bayle, who was himself given

* *Teissier, Additions aux Éloges de M. de Thou, ii.* 381, 432; *Bullart, Académie des Sciences, ii.* 190; *Balliet, Enfans Célèbres,* 184.

to tasting of religion at all its different founts. With gossipy pen, he briefly summarizes the facts in Lipsius's stormy theological career, which to a sixteenth-century mind, and even to one of the eighteenth century, must have seemed as important as it was chequered.

The theologian of a century or so ago undoubtedly found that Lipsius had contributed something to religious thought, but to us, in this century of freedom in such matters, Justus Lipsius is chiefly a subject for antiquarian curiosity, just as he was to Bayle. It would be idle to speculate on the present-day value of his *Diva Virgo Hallensis*, or

his *Diva Sichemiensis*, written for the Jesuits, when late in his life he had accepted the professorship of Latin in the Colegium Buslidanium at Louvain and had become, to quote from Bayle, "a bigot, like a silly woman." The polite literature which Lipsius taught at Louvain, in a manner "very glorious to him," is quite unread to-day; it is unnecessary now when so much polite literature has been, and is constantly being, added to the world's carefully shelved stock. Whatever defects of matter or style our writer may have had, like all the humanists he served a great purpose in retailing to further generations—and espe-

cially to librarians—the opinions of the classic writers on the history of libraries. It is not for us, who have received so great a favour at his hands, to criticise his scholarship, as some have done, —as does one writer who says, speaking of one of his mental tendencies, "The other, derived from his Jesuit training, showed itself in his merely rhetorical or verbal view of classical literature, of which the one interest lay in its style." Neither need we concern ourselves with his tendency to change his religious point of view,—now Jesuit, now Lutheran, now Calvinist, now Romanist. To Lipsius bibliophiles owe their thanks because he pub-

lished the first history of libraries, in the modern sense of the word,—a history which is as fresh and useful to-day as it was when it was written. Only a man of great scholarship could have written such a story, requiring the searching of the original authorities in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and only the scholarship of the sixteenth century—careful, conscientious and leisurely—could have brought together all the facts that Lipsius did. All of the histories since his time have borrowed freely from our author, or, like Edwards, have used his references for further elaboration of their texts.

If, however, but few of his bi-

ographers have devoted themselves to a matter which must have been of no small interest in Lipsius's life (judging from his enthusiastic manner of treating it), one, at least, has done full justice to it,—a Frenchman, Étienne Gabriel Peignot, who, born in Arc-en-Barrios in 1767, devoted his whole life to the cause of bibliography. The account of this scholar written by Simonnet, in his *Essai sur la vie et les ouvrages de Gabriel Peignot*, 1863, deserves to be on the shelves of every librarian, certainly of every bibliographer.

Early in his career Peignot planned a great bibliographical work, of which his *Manuel Bi-*

bliographique, published in 1804, was a first part, and his *Dictionnaire Raisonné de Bibliologie* a second. The Manual is chiefly devoted to Lipsius, having for its opening chapter a life of our author, followed by a translation of the *Syntagma*. Peignot tells us that the plagiarism of Lipsius by authors who have not thought it worth their while to mention their indebtedness to him was one of the reasons why he was led to give the *Syntagma* the chief place in his own book, —he wished to secure to this learned man his just due.

In his "Notice préliminaire sur Juste Lipse et ses ouvrages" Peignot gives a selected list of

Lipsius's works dated from 1599, wherein it is seen that the book in which we are interested, *J. Lipsi de Bibliothecis Syntagma, Antverpiae*, came, like all of the others, "ex officina Plantiniana, apud J. Moretum." * This, to the librarian, is a fact worthy of special note, because it gives the evidence of the friendship that existed between the printer, John Moretus, son-in-law of the great Plantin, founder of the house, "first printer to the king, and the king of printers," and Lipsius, covering a long period of years.

* *Ed.* 1. *De Bibliothecis Syntagma*, Antwerp, 1602; *Ed.* 2. Helmstadt, 1620; *Ed.* 3. Antwerp, 1629. *In his Opera Omnia*, 1610–30, 1637, 1675.

In the house of Christopher Plantin at Antwerp, now known as the Plantin-Moretus Museum, in the room called, since the sixteenth century, the "Room of Justus Lipsius," the bust of the friend of the house looks down from its place of honour over the entrance door. And so, just as Lipsius's name is closely linked with one of the great epochs of printing, it has also a part in the history of the development of the library idea. Whatever the facts concerning his theology, polite literature or other writings, whatever the final vote on the value of his style, the little tract, here reprinted, in the hands of friends of libraries will justify the faith

that Lipsius had in his claim to fame, when, in hanging a votive silver pen before an altar of the Virgin, he wrote:

"O Blessed Virgin, this pen, the interpreter of my mind, which soared up as high as the sky; which searched the most hidden recesses of land and sea; which always applied itself to learning, prudence and wisdom; which dared to write a treatise on constancy; which explained civil and military matters, and such as relate to the taking of cities; which described, O Rome, thy greatness; which variously illustrated and cleared up the writings of the ancients,—that pen is now, O Blessed Virgin, consecrated to

thee by Lipsius, for by thy assistance have they all been completed. Let thy kind influence constantly attend me for the future; and in return for that vanishing fame which my pen gained, vouchsafe to grant, O Divine Lady, a continual joy and life to your devoted servant, Lipsius."

H. W. K.

New York, February, 1907

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

THIS translation has been made from the second edition, "the last from the author's hand," Antwerp, Plantin Press, John Moretus, 1602.

The French version by Gabriel Peignot, in his *Manuel Bibliographique*, Paris, 1800, was found very helpful in translating Lipsius's rather crabbed Latin; I was greatly aided also by a first draught of an English translation kindly made for me by Miss I. McD. Howell, of the Newark, New Jersey, Free Public Library. Mr. W. W. Bishop, reference librarian in the library of Princeton University, gave most

valuable assistance, both on difficult points in the Latin and on many historical allusions. I am, of course, responsible for all errors.

J. C. D.

Newark, January, 1907

TO THE READER

TO THE READER

YOU have before you my brief outline of the history of libraries, that is, of books. Where shall we who are constantly making use of books look for a worthier subject for our pen? Yet I never should have dreamed of writing this outline had I not been inspired thereto by the zeal in such matters of the noble Prince to whom I have just dedicated it.

That such as he should labour to encourage and inspire men to good deeds and high endeavour—this I think a thing most helpful to us all. And how few do give themselves generously to this task! All thoughts seem now to turn to low

and sordid things. Scorning the ancient and holy truths, how eagerly to-day do men search out doctrines whose only charm is that they seem new!

To these one might well repeat the ancient line: "Though broad and well known is the highway, you choose a narrow and obscure path."

For ourselves, we hold fast to the old and the established; and we study, we point out the way, and we set forth examples—often, so I hope and trust, to some useful purpose.

And may you, O Gentle Reader, look with favour upon our work.

A BRIEF OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF LIBRARIES

CHAPTER I

Bibliotheca *and* Libraria—*what do these words signify? The Kings of old had Libraries, especially those of Egypt.*

THE word *bibliotheca* is used to signify any one of three things: a place in which books are kept, a bookcase, or books themselves. The Greek word, *bibliotheca*, came into use among the Romans. They also used the word *libraria*; but it is more exact to understand by that word a shop where books are kept for sale. Collections of books, *bibliothecae*, date from the earliest days, and, if I am not mistaken, were established as soon as letters were invented. The art of writing must have arisen almost as soon as

man began to learn and to think; and this art would not have been profitable if books had not been preserved and arranged for present and future use.

At first these collections were private undertakings, each person gathering for himself and his family; in the course of time kings and dynasties took up the custom and collected books, not only for use, but also to gratify their ambition and to add to their renown. Indeed, it was scarcely within the power of a private person to collect many books, since the process of copying them was a slow and expensive one; though our lately discovered most useful art of printing has now simplified it.

Osymandyas of Egypt was of all kings the first, as far as history shows, to have a library of any note. Along with other famous deeds he established, says Diodorus, a library of sacred literature, and placed over the entrance the inscription: "Here is Medicine for the Mind." Though he was one of the earliest of the Egyptian kings, I do not doubt that his example was thereafter faithfully followed, even if the library he is said to have founded never in fact existed; for in Egypt there have always been libraries, especially in temples, under the care of priests. Many facts may be cited as evidence for the truth of this statement, among others this one about

Homer: a certain Naucrates accused Homer of plagiarism, and said that when the latter went to Egypt he found there the books of a woman, Phantasia, who had written the Iliad and the Odyssey and placed them in the temple of Vulcan at Memphis; and that there Homer saw them, appropriated them, and published them as his own. As far as Homer is concerned I think this story false; but it establishes the fact in question, that it was the custom in Egypt to have libraries.

CHAPTER II

The Alexandrian Library, of which Philadelphus was the founder and the chief benefactor. The variety and number of books in it. Burned, and restored.

THOUGH other libraries of Egypt are little known, we learn that that of Ptolemy Philadelphus was famous and highly renowned. He was the son of Ptolemy Lagus, second of the name and of the line of the Greek kings of Egypt. Being a patron of the arts and sciences he was, of course, a lover of books, and founded the great library of Alexandria, aided by the instruction and example, perhaps even by the very books themselves, of Aristotle. For Aristotle, as I shall

note later, had a library which was remarkable for the number and excellence of its books. Speaking of this library, Strabo says that Aristotle was the first private collector of books of whom we have any knowledge, and that he taught the kings of Egypt the principles of classification. This passage from Strabo, however, must be read with care and be properly interpreted; for Aristotle was by no means the first to form a library, and as he lived before the time of Philadelphus, he could not have taught him, save as I have said, by example. Perhaps what Athenaeus says is true, that Aristotle left his books to Theophrastus, he to Neleus, and that from the latter

Ptolemy bought them, and transferred them, with others which he purchased in Athens and Rhodes, to fair Alexandria. Other writers, however, do not assent to this statement, as I shall show presently. This much is admitted, however, that he founded a library and collected for it books of every kind from all parts of the world, even seeking out the sacred books of the Hebrews. As soon as the fame of the wisdom of the Hebrews reached his ears, he sent and demanded the books which contained it, and employed men skilled in such matters to translate them into Greek for the common use of all. This translation was called the Septuagint from the number

of persons who were engaged in making it. It was made, according to Epiphanius, in the seventeenth year of the reign of Philadelphus, in the one hundred and twenty-seventh Olympiad. Demetrius Phalereus had charge of this library. He was an exile from his native Athens, and was renowned both for his writings and his works. The King held him in high esteem and entrusted to his care the library, and other matters of even greater importance.

Philadelphus likewise collected books from the Chaldeans, the Egyptians, and even from the Romans, and had them translated into Greek. I quote Georgius Cedrenus, who says, "Philadel-

phus had the sacred books of the Chaldeans, Egyptians, and Romans, as well as some in other languages, to the number of a hundred thousand volumes, translated into Greek, and placed them in his library at Alexandria." I note especially two things in this quotation: first, the diligence shown in translating into the common tongue books in foreign languages,—a very useful custom in my opinion and one which should be adopted to-day by you, O Princes; and second, the statement as to the number of books. This number is very large, it is true, but not large enough if it is meant to include all the books in the library. I think it was not so meant; but

that Cedrenus had in mind only the translations, and that the works in the original Greek far surpassed the number of translations. Other writers who have mentioned this library say it was much larger than Cedrenus says it was. Our friend Seneca reports that four hundred thousand volumes, a most precious monument of royal munificence, perished in the flames. Most precious, indeed; beyond all gold or rarest gems! How much more precious if their number had been greater still! And greater in fact it was. This number of Seneca's falls short of the truth, and must be extended to seven hundred thousand. Let Josephus tell us. He says that Demetrius, the li-

brarian I have mentioned, was once asked by Philadelphus how many books he had in the library, and replied that he had two hundred thousand volumes, and hoped soon to have five hundred thousand.

So you see how the library grew under his hands; then consider how much larger it must have grown to be in later years, under other kings, successors of Philadelphus. A. Gellius frankly says that the number rose to seven hundred thousand. To quote him exactly, "A prodigious number of books was collected, either by purchase or by copying, by the Ptolemaic kings of Egypt, nearly seven hundred thousand volumes." Ammianus,

from whom I shall quote shortly, says the same, and Isidore also, if his words be properly emended. "In Alexandria, in the days of Philadelphus, there were," he says, "seventy thousand books." I think that he should have said seven hundred thousand.

A precious treasure! But, alas, though it was the offspring of man's immortal spirit it was not itself immortal! For all this vast store of books, whatever their number may have been, perished in the flames. Caesar, in the civil war with Pompey, fought with the Alexandrians in the city itself. He set fire to the ships for his own protection; from the ships the flames spread to houses near the harbour, then to the library

itself, and consumed it utterly.

Shame be to Caesar for having brought about, even though without intent, this irreparable loss! Yet he himself does not mention it in the third book of his *History of the Civil War;* and, later, Hirtius did not speak of it. But others did; Plutarch, for example, and Dion; and Livy also, as may easily be shown by a reference to Seneca, who says, after the words above quoted, "Another has praised the library, even Livy, who says that it had been a splendid monument to the culture and the enlightened zeal of kings." These are the very words used by Livy in speaking of the fire, and of the praise due the library itself and the kings

who had collected it.

Ammianus also speaks of this lamentable conflagration, and says: "Among all the temples in Alexandria the Serapeum was preëminent; in it was formerly a library of inestimable value containing, according to the concurrent testimony of the ancient monuments, seven hundred thousand volumes, collected with patient zeal by the Ptolemaic kings. All of these books were consumed by fire when the state, under the dictatorship of Caesar, was disrupted by the Alexandrian war." He wishes to make it appear that this happened while the city was being plundered. A. Gellius says the same: "All these books were burned in the

earlier Alexandrian war" (here he is in error; it was in the later war, under Antony), "when the state was disrupted; and the burning was not intentional or premeditated, and possibly was done by the auxiliary soldiers." He excuses Caesar, and with some reason; for did ever any one love books and the humanities more than he? He also excuses the Roman soldiers, and lays the blame on the foreign auxiliaries.

If one consults Plutarch and Dion one may see that they do not think the burning took place during the sack of the city.

Such, then, was the end of this noble library; destroyed in the one hundred and eighty-third Olympiad, after enduring scarce-

ly two hundred and twenty-four years. Yet it lived again,—not the same collection, of course, for that were impossible; but a similar one,—and in the same building, the Serapeum. Cleopatra, she who became famous through her amours with Antony, re-established the library. She received from him, as the beginning or foundation of the new collection, the Attalic or Pergamene library. She accepted the entire collection as a gift and had it brought to Alexandria; then she again decorated the buildings and increased the collection, with the result that even in the time of the Christian fathers it was widely known and much used. Tertullian says, "To this

day are to be found in the library of Ptolemy in the Serapeum books in Hebrew characters." Note that, according to this remark of Tertullian's, the library was again installed in the Serapeum, that is, in its porticoes or galleries; and note, further, that Strabo and others tell us that the Serapeum was near the harbour and the ships. Note, once more, that it was called the Ptolemaic library, though it was in fact not the original library, but a similar one; for the original Hebrew texts and the original translation called the Septuagint had perished in the flames. And yet once more note that the reputation and ancient authority of this library were so great that

Tertullian uses it as an argument in his exhortation and admonition to the heathen.

For my part, I believe that the library existed as long as did the Serapeum itself, which was a temple of massive construction and of great size, and that, as reported by certain ecclesiastical writers, the Christians, during the reign of Theodosius the Great, demolished it utterly, as a monument of superstition.

CHAPTER III

Libraries in Greece, especially those of Pisistratus and Aristotle. That at Byzantium.

CONCERNING the libraries of Egypt I have given few and unimportant facts, though the collections themselves were perhaps many and of great importance. But history here is dimmed by the mists of time. The same must be said also of the history of the libraries of Greece. Athenaeus incidentally refers to the more important of them when he praises his friend Laurentius for his skill in classifying books, and says that in this art he surpassed Polycrates of Samos, Pisistratus the Tyrant,

Euclid the Athenian, Nicocrates the Cyprian, Euripides the poet, and Aristotle the philosopher. I have little of detail to say about any of these men. Of Pisistratus it should be noted that A. Gellius gave to him the honour of being the pioneer in this art of forming a library; though Polycrates had one at about the same time. A. Gellius says, to quote his very words, "Pisistratus the Tyrant is said to have been the first to make for public use in Athens a collection of books on the liberal arts." Here, then, was indeed a great man,—he was called the "Tyrant," but the word did not convey at that time the odium it does to-day,—and to him we owe the text of Homer collected

and arranged as we now have it. At that period critical studies, as we now call them, that is, the collation and emendation of texts, were much followed by princes, and even by kings. This library, founded by Pisistratus, was added to from time to time by the Athenians, until Xerxes carried it away when he captured Athens. Many years afterwards Seleucus Nicanor, King of Syria, very generously caused the books of this library to be returned to Athens. They remained there until the time of Sulla, who captured and plundered the city. But even after that, I am sure we must believe the library was again established; for how could a city be,

as Athens was, the mother of the arts without the aid of books? Indeed there must have been many libraries there in later years. Hadrian, for example, so Pausanias wrote, erected in Athens a temple to the Panhellenic Jove, and placed in it a library.

Of Euclid, Athenaeus says that he was an archon and one of the more learned of the magistrates; nothing more.

Of Aristotle, Strabo speaks in terms of highest praise, and I have already quoted his words. I also cited the statement from Athenaeus that Aristotle's library came finally into the possession of the Ptolemies. Strabo and some others, however, seem to question this statement. "The

books of Aristotle," says Strabo, "which were left to Neleus, were finally handed on to certain descendants of his who were men of no learning. By them the books were kept under lock and key, and were not used. Then they were buried under ground and much injured by worms and mould; but finally were purchased at a great price by Apellicon of Teos. He had the books, now sadly worm-eaten and tattered, transcribed, though not faithfully or with good judgement, and published. On his death Sulla, then master of Athens, seized the books and sent them to Rome, where Tyrannion the grammarian made use of them and, so it is reported, rear-

ranged them and to some extent corrupted their text." Plutarch tells the same or a very similar story in his life of Sulla. If it is true, how could the books of Aristotle have come from Neleus to Philadelphus, as Athenaeus says they did in the passage quoted above? Perhaps we can reconcile the two statements, and this is my conclusion, by supposing that Neleus retained Aristotle's own writings, his original manuscripts, as a precious heritage for his own family, and sold the rest of the books, written by others, to Philadelphus.

I do not recall any other matters worth relating about the libraries of Greece. I do not need to say that the Romans, after

they conquered the country, undoubtedly took to Italy many collections of books.

Perhaps I should simply mention the Byzantine library of the time of the Emperors. Zonaras and Cedrenus say that under the Emperor Basiliscus, the library in Byzantium, into which had been gathered a hundred and twenty thousand volumes, was destroyed by fire. Among the books was the gut of a great dragon, one hundred and twenty feet long, on which was written in letters of gold the whole of the Iliad and the Odyssey. But this library, being in Thrace and not in Greece, ought not to be considered as among the Grecian libraries.

CHAPTER IV

The Attalic Library, of which Eumenes was the founder. Certain errors of statement about it made by Pliny and Vitruvius. Its size and the length of time it existed.

THE Attalic or Pergamene library, in Asia, was almost as illustrious as the Alexandrian. When the Attalic kings, minor powers at first, became great and rich through an alliance with the Romans, they adorned their capital city in many ways and erected in it a library. Strabo regarded Eumenes, the son of King Attalus, as the founder of this collection. "Eumenes," he says, "built the city and beautifully adorned it as it now

is, with temples and a library." Pliny says, "According to Varro there was a rivalry over their respective libraries between Ptolemy and Eumenes, and the former forbade the exportation of paper from his kingdom, and the latter of parchment from his." Jerome, in his letter to Chromatius, and Aelian, made similar statements, though they say it was Attalus who was jealous of Ptolemy, and not Eumenes. Concerning neither of them, however, can the story be true; for, as a comparison of dates will show, they both lived almost a century after Philadelphus. How, then, could there have been between them the jealousy which Pliny speaks of? Unless, indeed,

"Ptolemy" is used simply in reference to the kings of Egypt in general, and refers here not to Philadelphus but to Ptolemy the Fifth, generally called Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was a contemporary of Eumenes. He perhaps, though he was not at all distinguished for his zeal in regard to libraries, forbade the exportation of paper, in fear lest another new library should rival his own more ancient one.

The erroneous or careless statement just noted is still more crudely put by Vitruvius. He says, to quote him directly, "After the Attalic kings, led by their great interest and delight in literature, established for general enjoyment a superb library at

Pergamum, Ptolemy, stirred to a boundless zeal by their example, and rivalling them in activity, endeavoured to establish at Alexandria a library equal to theirs." How absurd the statement! As if the Attalic kings antedated the Alexandrian in this art! As if, in this field of books, the latter caught from the former their zeal, or looked to them for example! Why, the exact opposite was true; for the Ptolemies practised the art of establishing libraries long before the Attalic kings had ever thought of it. It is possible, of course, that here again the writer alludes, without naming him, to one of the later Ptolemies. But even then it remains true that the Pergamene library

never rivalled the Alexandrian in either resources or age. Plutarch writes to this effect where, mentioning both libraries, he says that Antony the Triumvir, fascinated by the charms of Cleopatra, gave to her the library at Pergamum, in which were two hundred thousand volumes. I use the word "volumes" and not "titles," for I think the word which Plutarch uses refers to several works bound together in one volume, and that these several works are not counted in giving the size of the library.

This Pergamene library ceased to exist, then, soon after the destruction of the first Alexandrian one; but lived again in the latter when it was reëstablished.

Was it set up again in its own city? Certainly Strabo's words, quoted above, if carefully considered, seem to imply that it was. For he says, "was erected where it now is." What does he mean by "now"? Plainly the time when he, Strabo, was writing, which was in the reign of Tiberius. So it appears that the victorious Augustus, who annulled much that Antony did, either brought the library back to its old home in Pergamum, or, what is more probable, caused it to be copied again and reëstablished it. But on this point I do not venture to speak with certainty.

CHAPTER V

Roman libraries; private ones; and the first public library, that of Asinius Pollio.

HAVING spoken of such libraries of foreign peoples as seem worthy of mention, let us pass to those of Rome, which are nearer to us in both place and time.

Slow enough at first was the growth of love of books and interest in the humanities among the Romans; for the Romans were children of Mars, not of the Muses. But at last, by God's grace, here also culture took root and refinement gained in esteem, though slowly at first, as it always does. Isidore notes that

Aemilius Paulus was the first to bring to Rome any large number of books, and this he did after he had conquered Perseus, King of the Macedonians; then Lucullus did the same after the pillage of Pontus. Thus he names two who brought books to Rome. But they did not make them accessible to the public. Concerning Aemilius I have read nothing further; of Lucullus, Plutarch speaks at great length. He says:

"His delight in books and his free expenditure for them should be highly praised. For he acquired many of them, and very beautifully written ones; and showed the same liberality in respect to their use that he showed in respect to their pur-

chase. His library was open to every one; and in the adjoining colonnades and exedras learned Greeks were especially made welcome. Here they came, as to a temple of the Muses, and passed the time pleasantly together free from all cares. And often Lucullus himself came to these colonnades and walks, and joined the learned in their conversations, and took part in their philosophical discussions."

From which you may see, Most Illustrious Prince, how free and open this library was; and that though he retained the title to it himself, he gave the unrestricted use of it to the learned, just as you so generously do with your own.

To Aemilius and Lucullus one may add the name of Cornelius Sulla, afterwards dictator, as a founder of libraries. He brought from Greece and Athens to Rome a very large number of books and arranged them to form a library. About this Lucian has written, as well as Plutarch.

But after all these things were done, a true public library for Rome had not yet been established. The thought of such an institution was first conceived by the great and glorious Julius Caesar, and would by him have been carried to its conclusion had not the fates forbidden. Suetonius says, "He planned to open to the public libraries formed of as many books in the Greek

and Latin languages as he could bring together, and to give to Marcus Varro the duty of organizing and managing them." This was truly the plan of a generous spirit, and of a wise one also; for who in all the world was better fitted than Varro, most learned in Greek and Roman letters, to carry out such a scheme? But Caesar was not destined to realize his thought. Augustus, his adopted son, added a library to the other adornments and glories he gave to the city. At his suggestion and inspired by him, Asinius Pollio, orator, senator, and noble, erected a temple of liberty, so Suetonius says, and placed in it a library which he made free to all. Isidore says, "Pollio was

the first to establish a public library in Rome, one composed of books in Greek and in Latin, and decorated with busts of famous authors. He placed it in the public hall, which he magnificently adorned with the spoils of war." "Spoils of war" refers to those taken from the Dalmatians, whom he had just conquered. Pliny remarks that Asinius Pollio was the first to establish a library which made free to all the wisdom of all.

It seems plain from these writers that this library was in the Hall of Liberty, on the Aventine Hill. I think it was rather rearranged or reconstructed for the library than built especially for it. It had been in existence a long

time before Pollio's day. Plutarch and other writers say that it dated from the time of Tiberius Gracchus, father of the Gracchi. Pollio, it would seem, refitted it and dedicated it to this glorious use. Ovid's words should be noted here, for he says,—his book, *Tristia*, is supposed to be speaking,—"Liberty did not permit me to enter her hall; that hall in which were first opened to the public the books of the wise." I do not think the words he uses in these lines have reference, as some think, to a gathering of poets. The book—for, as I have said, it is a book which Ovid's verse makes us suppose is speaking—frankly complains that it was not received into the

library of Asinius, that library which was the first to open to public use the writings of learned men.

CHAPTER VI

The Libraries of Augustus, the Octavian and the Palatine. Their Librarians and Custodians.

IT was, then, under Augustus that this the first public library was established. Soon there were two others, also due to him. The first, the Octavian, he founded in honour of his sister, and gave it her name. Of this Dion Cassius says, in his chronicle of the year 721, "Augustus built a colonnade and in it established a library, which he named after his sister Octavia." Plutarch seems to ascribe this work to Octavia herself, when he says, "In honour of Marcellus, his mother Octavia built a li-

brary and dedicated it to his memory; Augustus built a theatre and gave to it the name of Marcellus." I think Plutarch is here in error, for the note of Dion's places the erection of the Colonnade of Octavia ten whole years before the death of Marcellus. He adds that these memorials were erected from spoils of the Dalmatians, and his words draw attention to the remarkable fact that the first and second libraries of Rome were both due, in a certain sense, to barbarians.

Suetonius, in speaking of Melissus the grammarian, says that after he was freed he soon became intimate with Augustus, and at the latter's request undertook, and very efficiently, the task

of arranging the library in the Colonnade of Octavia. It is my opinion that it was in the upper part of the colonnade, as safer and more appropriate, since the lower part was used as a promenade. Ovid again makes his little book of verse say, "I seek another temple, near the theatre; and this also was forbidden to my feet." The book complains that it is spurned by the library, and incidentally tells where the library was,—near the theatre of Marcellus. He calls the building, which was in fact a portico, a temple, because in it, as Pliny says, was an altar to Juno, and certain beautiful statues.

Still another library was found-

ed by this same Augustus, the Palatine, so called because it was in the royal palace itself. Suetonius says, "He built the temple of Apollo in that part of his house on the Palatine Hill which had been struck by lightning, and was thereby, as the priests interpreted the fact, marked out as a spot dear to God. To the temple he added porticoes, in which he placed a library of books in Latin and in Greek." This happened in the seven hundred and twenty-sixth year of the city, as one may learn from the opening lines of Dion's *History*, book LIII.

It seems, then, that Ovid followed the order of the dates of their establishment in his reference to the libraries of Rome,

when he named, in the following quotation, first the Asinian, next the Octavian, and last the Palatine.

From thence we to Apollo's temple went,
To which by steps there is a faire ascent:
Where stand the signs in faire outlandish stone,
Of Belus and of Palammed the sonne.
There ancient bookes, and those that are more new,
Doe all lye open to the Reader's view.
I sought my brethren there, excepting them,
Whose haplesse birth my father doth condeme.
And as I sought, the chiefe man of the place,
Bid me be gone out of that holy space.*

Here Ovid shows, among other things, that there was a librarian or custodian of the Palatine library. Suetonius tells us he was C. Julius Higinus. In his *Celebrated Grammarians* he says, "This man presided over the Pa-

*W. Saltonstall's translation, 1637.

latine library; though meanwhile he followed his profession and taught many." Later there was a special custodian for the books in Greek, and another for those in Latin. On an ancient marble tablet are inscribed these words:

ANTIOCHUS
IN CHARGE OF THE LATIN BOOKS
IN THE LIBRARY OF
TI. CLAUDIUS CAESAR
IN THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO

On another:

C. JULIUS FALYX
IN CHARGE OF THE GREEK BOOKS
OF THE
PALATINE LIBRARY

There are other similar inscriptions.

To this Palatine library Pliny refers when he says, "We may

see in the library in the temple of Augustus a Tuscan statue representing Apollo, fifty feet in height." This quotation, however, may point to the library of Vespasian Augustus, which was in the temple of Peace. But Pliny refers very plainly to the Palatine library when he says, "The old Greek letters were almost the same as the Latin letters of the present time, as is shown by an ancient Delphic tablet of bronze, dedicated to Minerva, which is now in the Palatine—that gift of emperors—in the library." I am led to believe, from the words of John of Salisbury, that this library was in existence in Rome for a very long time, since he writes, "The

learned and most holy Gregory not only banished astrology from the court; but also, as is reported by them of old time, gave to the flames those writings of approved merit, and whatever else the Palatine library in Apollo's temple possessed. Preëminent among these were some which seemed designed to reveal to men the will of the celestial beings and the oracles of the higher powers."

This quotation is worthy of note.

CHAPTER VII

The Libraries of Tiberius, of Trajan, of Vespasian; also the Capitoline; other unknown Libraries.

WE have seen that two libraries were established in Rome by the Emperor Augustus, a most zealous patron of the arts and sciences. What may be said of other Roman libraries? Certainly there were others; and there even seems to have been a spirit of rivalry among the rulers of that time in regard to them, each contending for the palm as founder of libraries. For example, Tiberius, soon after the death of Augustus, established one within the limits of the royal palace itself, on that part which

fronts on the Via Sacra. Students of the subject think that here were Tiberius's own special apartments; and A. Gellius locates the library in them when he says, "While Apollinaris and I were sitting in the library in the house of Tiberius." Vopiscus makes the same statement in effect, for he tells us that he used the books in the Ulpian library and also those in the apartments of Tiberius.

It seems that in due course Vespasian also collected a library and placed it in the temple of Peace, as we gather from A. Gellius's remark, "We sought very diligently for the Commentary of L. Aelius, the teacher of Varro, and found it, and read it, in the library in the temple of Peace."

Galen also mentions it in his *Treatise on the Compounding of Medicines.*

Another library was gathered by Trajan, of which A. Gellius also speaks. "We happened," he says, "to be sitting in the library in the temple of Trajan." This is the one which is commonly called the Ulpian, from the family name of the Emperor Trajan. Vopiscus says, "I learned these things from the elders; and I read them also, in the books of the Ulpian library;" also, "If you are still in doubt, consult the books in Greek, then look up also the linen books, the ancient chronicles, which the Ulpian library can show to you whenever you wish."

I am of the opinion that this Ulpian library was at first in the forum of Trajan, where the other monuments erected by that emperor were placed; and was afterwards moved to the Viminal Hill to adorn the Baths of Diocletian. If so moved, why not by Diocletian himself? Vopiscus would lead us to think it was, for he says, "I make use especially of the books of the Ulpian library, which in my time was in the Baths of Diocletian." When he expressly says that in his time it was in a certain place, he plainly implies that it had previously been in another place.

Let us pass now to the Capitoline library, concerning which Eusebius says, in speaking of the

reign of the Emperor Commodus, "The lightning struck the Capitol and started a great fire, which consumed the library and the houses near it." Orosius relates the incident more at length: "Upon the city falls the punishment for the crimes of the emperor. The Capitol was struck by lightning, and a terrible conflagration burst forth, which devoured both the library, which had been gathered by men of old with so much zeal and care, and all the adjoining dwellings."

Who was the founder of this library? We cannot be sure, but we may surmise that it was Domitian. At one time he narrowly escaped death in the Capitol, and there, after he became emperor,

he erected a temple; and if the temple, why not the library within it? No record, it is true, remains to prove that he did. Suetonius speaks of the matter in a very vague way where he says, "He, Domitian, was at great pains to reëstablish the library which had been burned, and at large expense sought for books in all parts of the world, and sent savants to Alexandria to copy and edit books there for his library." We note from this that even then the Alexandrian was looked upon as the source and very foster-mother of all other libraries, and that these others sought from her carefully edited and beautifully written books to replace their corrupted versions. More-

over, these other and later libraries were preserved through the enlightened interest of the princes of their day, for if this had not been so, how could there have been so many libraries at the time of P. Victor, that is, in the reign of Constantine? Victor says that he noted, among other remarkable things in Rome, twenty-nine public libraries; two of which were especially noteworthy, the Palatine and the Ulpian.

Alas, of how many of these have we no record whatsoever! Out of all the twenty-nine we discovered, for all our diligence, traces of seven only, and of these have rescued from oblivion hardly more than their names.

CHAPTER VIII

Of the Tiburtine Library; also of certain of the more important Private Libraries. These latter were sometimes found in the Baths, sometimes in the Country Houses.

CONCERNING the greater part of the Roman public libraries I have learned nothing, as I have said; not even of those within the city.

There was one at Tibur, near Rome, about which A. Gellius says, "We recall having found it written in that same book of Claudius in the library at Tibur." And again, "He brought it from the library of Tibur, which was at that time very conveniently located in the temple of Her-

cules." Here and elsewhere we note that the libraries were often placed in or near temples. And why should not the sacred productions of human genius be deposited in consecrated buildings? It is possible that the Emperor Hadrian established this library at Tibur, for it is well known that he took much pleasure in that spot, and spared no expense in adorning it with many and very beautiful buildings.

It seems evident to me that in all the cities and colonies of the empire libraries were found and the arts and humanities were cultivated.

Certain of the wealthy citizens, it appears, had their own private libraries, some of them very no-

ble ones, partly for use and partly for the sake of the reputation for learning which they gave.

For example, there is Tyrannion the grammarian, in the reign of Sulla, who had three thousand volumes. Epaphroditus of Chaeronea, also a grammarian by profession, is another example. Suidas says of him that he lived at Rome from the time of Nero to that of Nerva, and was so assiduous a purchaser of books that he collected thirty thousand of them, and they of the best and rarest. I applaud this last example, not so much, of course, for the great number of books he collected as for the good taste he showed in choosing them. I should like to believe that this

Epaphroditus was the one who had among his slaves Epictetus, the very head of the true philosophy. Certainly they were contemporaries. But the rank and occupation of the two men were very different, the book-collector being a grammarian, according to Suidas, while the owner of Epictetus was one of the body-guards of Nero. Whoever he was, Samonicus Serenus surpassed him in his zeal for book-collecting, for he had a library in which there were sixty-two thousand volumes. When he died he left his books to Gordian the Less, afterwards emperor. The gift is reported by Capitolinus with these words of praise, "This has immortalized Gordian; for

men of letters will never cease to speak of the gift of so vast and splendid a library."

Consider, O Most Illustrious Prince, how this love of books brings favour and high renown, —such favour and renown as should be granted without limit to great men like yourself.

Those I have named, and a few besides, are known to have had notable libraries. There were, of course, many others of whom we know nothing. Seneca shows that the habit of book-collecting was very common in his time, and condemns it. You ask, why did he condemn it? "Because," he says, "they acquired books not that they might enjoy them, but simply for show. To most of

these newly rich, ignorant even of the elements of *belles-lettres*, books are not aids to study, but simply ornaments of dining-rooms." A little further on he adds: "Why, in the homes of the idlest of the rich you will find all that orators or historians have written, with bookcases built clear to the ceiling! Formerly a library gave a home an air of culture; one is now put in, like a bathroom, simply as a necessary part of the equipment of a house." A sad state of affairs, I admit. And yet it is to be wished that our own rich men had the same taste in luxuries; for a collection of books can always be of use and value to some one, even if not to the owner.

We note that libraries were placed in the baths, as we did above in the case of the Ulpian library, which was in the Baths of Diocletian. If you ask why, I would say because the Romans, while caring for the body in the bath, found their minds at ease, and discovered that then was a favourable time, especially for those who were deeply engrossed in affairs, to read or to be read to. For a like reason they had books in their villas and country seats. There also they found a leisure and a freedom from care which were favourable to reading.

A decision of the jurisconsult Paulus calls attention to this custom of having libraries: "In a

legacy of real estate any books and any library which are in the house pass to the legatee." Pliny says, speaking of his own villa, "A bookcase is built into the wall, thus forming, as it were, a little library." Martial praises the library at the country-place of a certain other Julius Martial, as follows:

Thou lovely country library,
Whence thy lord views the city nigh,
If, 'mongst his serious studys, place
My wanton muse may find, and grace,
To these sev'n books afford a roome,
Though on the lowest shelf, which come
Corrected by their author's penn.*

**Translation from a sixteenth century MS. Bohn.*

CHAPTER IX

The Decoration of Libraries with Ivory and with Glass. Bookcases and Shelves, Tables and Seats.

I HAVE now gone rapidly over the early history of libraries and have mentioned those of which time has not destroyed all records. As to what I have written, I must confess that it is but a trivial mention of a great subject,—as the old saying goes, "a drop of water out of a full bucket." Yet I have said enough, perhaps, to act as an incentive or to serve as an example.

I shall add a few words on the decoration of libraries and the arrangement of their books.

From Isidore I learn that the

more experienced architects did not think that the ceilings of libraries should be gilded, or that the floors should be made of any but Carystian marble; this because the glitter of gold is rather tiring to the eyes, while the green of Carystian marble rests them.

This is good advice from whomever it may have come. True it is, as my own experience proves, that a brilliant light is disturbing to the attention and makes writing difficult; and green is a colour which seems to rest and refresh the eyes.

Boethius adds something further to this subject of decoration, when he says, in his book on *Consolation*, "The walls were decorated with ivory and glass."

Does he mean the walls of the room itself? It would seem so, for the bookcases or shelves were not placed against the walls, in which case the ornamentation of the latter would not have been seen, but were set out in the room, just as they are in most public libraries to-day. Glass cut in squares, circles, ovals, and rhomboids was used like marble tiles, to ornament the walls, though oftener the arches and the ceilings. Pliny says in his *Natural History*, book XXXVI, "Tiles made of earth they transformed into glass and put on the arches; and this is a recent invention." It was, then, still a novelty in the time of Nero and Seneca. Yet Seneca speaks of it as a common

thing, in letter LXXXVI, on baths, where he says, "Unless the arch is covered with glass." On this point consult my work on the baths of the Romans.

That it was also used on the walls, Vopiscus, as well as Boethius, shows when he says in speaking of Firmus, "The house appears to have been covered over with squares of glass, with bitumen and other material between the squares." I think the bitumen was here used to fasten the squares of glass to the wall, and not to join them to each other. The joints between the pieces of glass were more appropriately covered with ivory, as Boethius seems to say they were. Ivory was placed also

on the bookcases themselves; whence the phrase, "ivory library," in the Pandects. Seneca mentions bookcases made of cedar and ivory.

Common sense and the general fitness of the thing of course make it plain that there were bookcases in libraries; I would add the fact that the cases were numbered. Vopiscus so indicates when he says, "The Ulpian library has the elephant book in the sixth case." Whether by "elephant" he means made of ivory or of the skin of an elephant, I cannot say. The old scholiast in commenting on this phrase, from Juvenal, "Hic libros dabit et forulos" (This one will furnish you with books and

cases), gives as an equivalent phrase, "Armaria, bibliotheca" (A library and the books in it). I think the word *foruli* (pigeon-holes), as here used, properly means either compartments in the shelves, "nests" for the books, following Martial's use of the word; or, in Seneca's use of it, separate little cases for them. Sidonius speaks of these cases and of other things found in libraries. "Here," he says, "is an astonishing number of books and you would think yourself in a library and could see the shelves (*plutei*) of the grammarians; or the seats (*cunei*) of Athenaeus; or the lofty bookcases (*armaria*) of the booksellers." *Plutei* are the sloping tables on which books

were placed for reading; *cunei*, the rows of seats, as explained in Athenaeus; and *armaria*, book-cases, generally wide and tall, as I have shown. These last Cicero seems to call *pegmata* in a letter to Atticus.

CHAPTER X

Statues of Learned Men sometimes placed in Libraries; a praiseworthy Custom which originated with Asinius.

A MOST appropriate method of decorating a library, one which ought to be imitated by us to-day but unhappily is not, is that of placing in it and near their writings the statues or busts of great authors. How delightful it must have been to the readers to see them, and how stimulating to the mind! We all wish to become familiar with the features and the general appearance of great men, with those material bodies in which dwelt their celestial spirits, and, lifting our eyes from their

books, here they are before us! You could read the writings of Homer, Hippocrates, Aristotle, Pindar, Virgil, Cicero, and others, and at the same time feast your eyes upon the counterfeit presentment of each one. Again I say, a most beautiful custom, and why, Most Illustrious Friend, do we to-day not imitate it, under your leadership?

This idea seems to have originated with the Romans—not every good thing, after all, has come from the Greeks! Pliny is of this opinion. "Nothing," he says, speaking in his most happy vein, "is more delightful than to have knowledge of the face and bearing of the authors one reads. Asinius Pollio, at Rome, appa-

rently originated this idea of placing statues in libraries; that same Asinius who was the first, by founding a free library, to make the wisdom of mankind free to all. Whether the kings at Alexandria and Pergamum, who showed great zeal in the founding of libraries, had done the same before, I find it impossible to learn." So it seems, as I have said, that Asinius was the originator of the idea; and Pliny says that he placed in a library, the first public one opened in the city (not, in the world, as some absurdly render the phrase), the statue of a living man, Marcus Varro, the first person to have that honour. Afterwards the same distinction was shown

to others, either through courtesy or because it was justly due them; for example, to the poet Martial, who boasted that Stertinius wished to place a statue of him in his library. But for the most part this honour has been reserved for the dead, and for those who have, by common consent, proved their greatness.

Pliny says, "A certain custom, now just established, ought not to be passed by in silence. I refer to the fact that they place in libraries, not only the statues in gold, silver, or bronze of those whose immortal souls may be said to be speaking there through their books, but also the statues of those whose books are not there; and even imaginary sta-

tues of those of whom no portraits have been preserved." He calls the custom a new one, meaning that it originated with Pollio. He says also that these statues of the dead were for the most part made of metal. I would add that they were also made of plaster, in which they were easily duplicated for private libraries. Juvenal says, "Though you may find everywhere busts of Chrysippus in plaster."

Indeed I think the portraits were sometimes paintings, and that perhaps they placed portraits at the beginnings of books. Seneca says, "Those exquisite works of highest genius, illustrated with the portraits of their authors." Suetonius says of Ti-

berius, "He placed their writings and their portraits in the public libraries among the old and accepted authors." And Pliny in his letters remarks, "Herennius Severus, a most learned man, is very desirous to place in his own library the statues of Cornelius Nepos and Titus Atticus." So, according to these two writers, both statues and portraits were used. Pliny also says, in speaking of Silius Italicus, "He owned many villas in these same places, and in them he had many portraits; moreover, he not only owned them, he almost worshipped them, especially the portrait of Virgil." Vopiscus says of Numerian that a certain oration of his was held to be so eloquent

that it was decided that a statue be made of him as an orator, not as emperor, and placed in the Ulpian library with this inscription: "To Numerian, Emperor, the greatest Orator of his time." Sidonius, justly boasting of a statue erected to himself in the same place, says, "Nerva Trajan has seen fit to place an enduring statue of me, in honour of my writings, among other authors in both libraries." By "both libraries" he means that his statue was set up in the Greek as well as in the Latin library.

Small portraits or statues were, it seems, often placed on brackets projecting from the cases or shelves on which stood the works of the writers they repre-

sented. I quote a line from Juvenal, "And bids the bust of Cleanthes guard the shelf on which his works repose."

The same custom is referred to in the distich which was inscribed on a bust of Virgil: "No harm can come to a poet who is honoured by having both his verse and his bust upon the library shelf;" meaning that he has attained to lasting fame who lives both in his books and in his sculptured likeness. Note also the seals or medallions above the shelves referred to by Cicero in a letter to Atticus. In Cicero's day they ornamented libraries with statues of the gods as well as of authors.

CHAPTER XI

A word about the Alexandrian Museum. Learned men dwelt in it supported from the Public Funds. Kings and Emperors made this Museum their special Care.

I HAVE nothing further that seems worth saying on this subject of libraries, except a few words about their use. If they stand empty, or with only an occasional visitor; if students do not frequent them and make use of their books, why were they ever established, and what are they save that "idle luxury in the garb of scholarship" to which Seneca alludes? The Alexandrian kings saw to it that there were students to make use of

their library, for they built near it a Museum, so called because it was, so to speak, a temple of the Muses, in which it was possible to follow the Muses, to cultivate the humanities, free from all cares, even from the labour of providing food and lodging, since the students in it were supported from the public funds. How admirable an institution! Strabo gives us the best description of it:

"Part of the royal palace is a Museum, in which one may stroll or sit at ease, with a great hall, in which men of letters, who are members of the Museum, hold meetings and take their meals together. Moreover, this college, as we may call the Museum or-

ganization with its students, has a foundation or common fund for its support; and a priest, who is president of the Museum, formerly appointed by the kings of Egypt, but at the present time by the emperor."

He says this was part of the royal palace. Doubtless the kings wished it to be near their own apartments that they might have at hand the learned men who were its inmates, and converse with them when they pleased; thus acquiring knowledge and training their minds. It had porticoes and exedras, the former being more for the exercise of the body, the latter for the training of the mind, as in them the students gathered, conferred, and

held discussions. There was also a hall, where they ate together. Philostratus says the same thing in speaking of Dionysius, who was, he writes, "received into the Museum;" and then adds, "The Museum is the Egyptian banquet-hall of learning, which brings together all the men of letters from all parts of the world."

Note particularly the words, "all the men of letters from all parts of the world," for even if not to be taken literally they show that the number was very large and the expense very great. Timon the satirist calls our attention to the same points when he says, in his satirical and carping way, "Many people are sup-

ported at public expense in Egypt the populous, that they may idly browse among books and quarrel over them in the cave of the Muses." Athenaeus, commenting on this passage, says, "Timon spoke of the Museum as a cave or cage, thus making sport of the philosophers maintained there, as if they were so many rare birds."

Athenaeus, we see, calls them philosophers; but Strabo uses the more general phrase, "men of letters and savants;" and no doubt scholars of every sort were admitted. Strabo puts special stress on the word "men," showing that boys and youths and those beginning their studies were not taught in the Museum,

as they would be in a similar place to-day; but that admittance was rather a reward for erudition already attained, an honour rightly earned. At Athens, following a similar custom, those who deserved the honour were supported in the Prytaneum at public expense.

What think you of that, O Prince of to-day? Does not the wish rise within you to establish again this noble custom?

Continuing Strabo's account of the Museum: he says a priest was appointed to manage its affairs, who was selected by the kings or emperors. The position must have been of great dignity, and one which it was thought the emperor himself should fill. One

may ask if the emperor did not appoint all the officials? Philostratus seems to imply that he did, when he says, speaking of Dionysius the sophist, "The Emperor Hadrian appointed him satrap or governor of many people, and named those who should receive public honours, and those also who should be maintained at public expense in the Museum." Again, speaking of Polemon, he says, "Hadrian made him a member of the Museum, where he lived at public expense." Let me add that, though I have not so indicated in my translation, Philostratus uses in the phrase I have quoted a word meaning "circle," from which it would seem that members were admitted in a cer-

tain order and in proper turn, some even being chosen before any vacancy had occurred. These no doubt waited in confidence and entered in due course, in the order of their appointment. A like custom prevails to-day among princes in conferring favours.

Athenaeus throws light on this matter of appointments to the Museum by the emperor when he says that a certain poet, Pancrates, very cleverly praised Hadrian's favourite, Antinous, and that the emperor, delighted with the subtle flattery, ordered the poet to be supported free of expense at the Museum.

So much for the reports of Strabo and others on the Museum and its management.

Let me add that the inmates of the Museum by no means lived therein an idle and useless life (how could they, being men who were dedicated, as it were, to public service?), but were diligent in writing, in arguing, and reciting their own works. Spartianus testifies to this in his remark about Hadrian, to the effect that he propounded questions to the savants in the Museum at Alexandria, and in turn answered those they presented to him.

Let me note that Suetonius says that the Emperor Claudius added a second Museum to the original one and ordered that certain books be read there every day, and

I close,

O MOST ILLUSTRIOUS RULER, with the wish that you, a descendant of great men and born to do great things, may long continue in that work, worthy of the highest praise, which you have already begun,—the work of encouraging the production of books and the cultivation of the liberal arts among men, and so make your name for all time revered.

To you, JOHN MORETUS, because of the friendship which has bound together for now these many years you and our Plantin —alas, now no more!—and all his family and myself,—to you, I say, I entrust the printing and the publishing of this my OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF LIBRARIES; to you and to no one else. And this my wish and will I thus declare in accordance with the law laid down by the great Emperor and the Kings.

JUSTUS LIPSIUS

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SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

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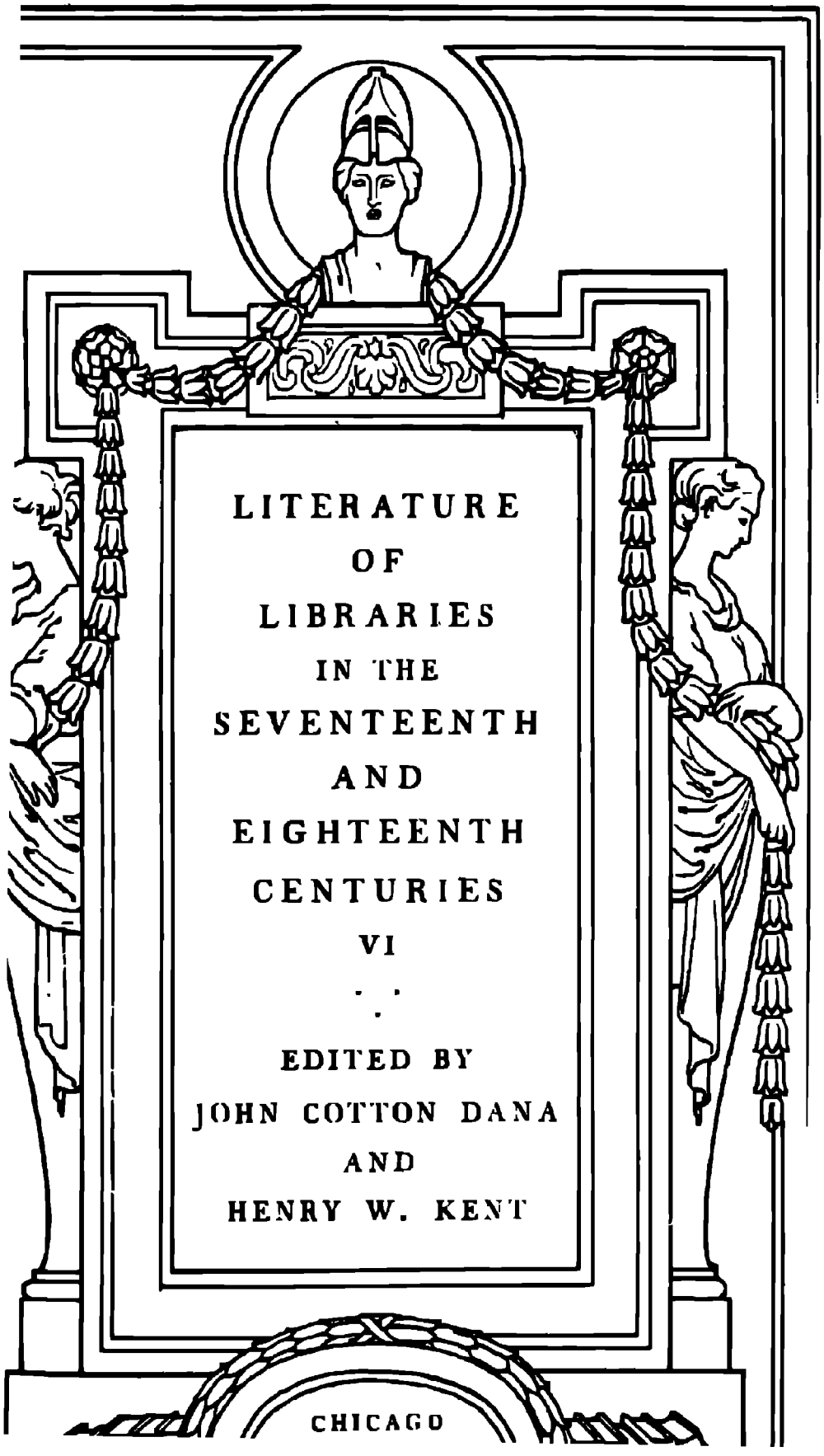
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VI

EDITED BY
JOHN COTTON DANA
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TWO TRACTS WRITTEN BY GABRIEL NAUDÉ

An Edition of two hundred and fifty copies in this form and one of twenty-five copies on Large Paper were printed at The Merrymount Press, Boston, in May, 1907

NEWS FROM FRANCE

OR

A DESCRIPTION OF THE LIBRARY OF CARDINAL MAZARIN

PRECEDED BY

THE SURRENDER OF THE LIBRARY

(NOW NEWLY TRANSLATED)

TWO TRACTS WRITTEN

BY

GABRIEL NAUDÉ



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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

GABRIEL NAUDÉ

1600–1653

THE sixteenth century had scarcely died," says Sainte-Beuve, "when Naudé came into the world. It is difficult to imagine what this strong, prolific epoch must have appeared to those who sprang from it, to those who inherited its wealth, and to whom it must have seemed, in very truth, the greatest and the last. . . . Such a wealth of discoveries coming in such rapid succession: cannon, printing, clocks, a new continent, the starry heaven yielding up the secrets of its wonderful system to the observation of a

Tycho Brahe and to the telescope of a Galileo,—that was the wealth which Naudé, young and hungering after all knowledge, first beheld, and then, with Bacon, glorified. One loves to hear him proclaiming 'the delights of our last century.' . . . The result of all this effervescence on the calm, judicious, and critical minds of the one which followed—imbibing it, as they did, through their reading—was, naturally, a strong tendency to doubt,—at least, to moral and philosophical doubt; and this it was that the sixteenth century at its close engendered. All had been said, thought, dreamed; ideas and researches had been expressed in

every manner of style. What, therefore, remained to be done?"

Hence we find at the beginning of the seventeenth century in France a school in a transition stage, "half believing and half sceptical, half literary and half savant; which has been forgotten," says Labitte, in his *Precursory Writers of the Age of Louis XIV*, "because it grazed all parties without belonging to any one of them, and because, while it has written much, it has left nothing in relief, nothing that can be called monumental." The writers of this school, however, though disdained and eclipsed by their great successors of the era of Louis XIV,

were the pioneers who at a difficult period "bridged over the transition stage between two epochs of art," and their place in literature is not a mean one.

There were two distinct groups of writers belonging to the period. First, there were the writers of the court, "heedless, concerning themselves but little with religion, and busying themselves more with a good dinner, or with a well turned madrigal, than with the problem of human destiny." The second group was made up of the philosophical spirits of deep learning, men who lived obscurely in the silence of the libraries, a small circle of critical thinkers, "the last of the

Gaulois," says Labitte, "who, while living in the seventeenth century, belonged in many respects to the sixteenth."

Foremost in this second group stands Gabriel Naudé, who, in spite of his intense love for books, was no mere bookworm. "A moralizing sceptic wearing the mask of an erudite" is what Sainte-Beuve calls him. Naudé was born in Paris in February, 1600. We are told that his parents were honest people, probably small shopkeepers, who, early recognizing his bookish tendencies, made all efforts to give their son an education.

Too much influenced by the writings of Charron and Mon-

taigne to study theology, as he was advised, he chose the profession of medicine, beginning with his studies his lifelong friendship with Guy Patin, a fellow student. Gaining some fame when only twenty years old by a treatise on libels, he attracted the attention of President de Mesmes, who appointed him his librarian—a post which he resigned in 1626 to continue his medical studies at Padua.

Returning to Paris two years later, he was chosen by the medical faculty to deliver a panegyric on the medical school, a task which brought him much glory. He had already written his amusing treatise against the

Rosicrucians (1623), as a little distraction in the midst of his more important work, and had produced his first really ambitious book, his *Apology for Great Men falsely accused of Magic* (1625). The subject of the latter, strange as it seems to-day, was a burning one at a time when the greatest minds among the ancients were not free from the reproach of magic. It is in this work that we first notice markedly the frequent use of quotation, the wealth of classical allusion, the seeking in history for political comparisons, which became most characteristic of Naudé's writings.

With the *Apology* he began

to acquire a broader reputation, and to increase his circle of friends. He had a little country house at Gentilly, and there he gathered about him the most philosophical and critical spirits of the age, in those *réunions* that have since become famous. Gassendi, whose *Exercitationes* against Aristotle had made him distinguished, and the caustic Guy Patin were perhaps the most remarkable among the frequenters of Naudé's hearth at Gentilly.

It was when he was only twenty-six years old, and still librarian to President de Mesmes, that he wrote, in gratitude to his patron, the book which of all

his creations must have been the dearest to Gabriel Naudé's heart,—the *Avis pour Dresser une Bibliothèque*, first published in 1627; a second edition appeared in 1644, and others in 1646 and 1668. In 1661 John Evelyn translated it into English under the title, *Instructions concerning Erecting of a Library*, and in 1703 it was rendered into Latin. In this little book is embodied Naudé's great passion, the prime affection of his life. "What he succeeded after many years in putting into execution under Cardinal Mazarin," says Sainte-Beuve, "he planned while young under President de Mesmes. It was the prelude of his great in-

stitution, his great masterpiece, his great creation."

Late in 1630 Naudé, wishing to travel, gained an introduction to the papal nuncio, Cardinal de Bagni, and accompanied him on his return to Rome as his librarian and secretary. Three years later he took the degree of M.D. at Padua, and was made Physician to Louis XIII, an honorary title only.

On the death of his patron, Naudé remained in Rome as librarian to Cardinal Barberini. His twelve years' sojourn in Rome, while placing him in the midst of a society which knew how to value his abilities, and increasing his remarkable insight

into the workings of the human mind, had an injurious effect upon Naudé's character. "Forced to bend at every instant his doubting spirit and his philosophical mind, in a country where there was no medium between faith and incredulity, . . . Naudé was constrained to habituate himself to an hypocrisy of opinions unbefitting his character," writes Labitte.

Of the many works produced at Rome, for the most part written for particular occasions or to gratify a benefactor, only one is read to-day to any extent, and that has left a sad blot on the author's memory: it is his *Political Considerations upon Coups d'État*

(1639), with its justification of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day.* Despising the masses, believing that monarchy should be absolute, and that the end justifies the means, Naudé expressed in this book detestable theories which it is hard to forgive, even if we accept his statement in the preface that the edition was limited to twelve copies, the book being printed "out of obedience, for the satisfaction of the Cardinal de Bagni, who reads with pleasure only from the printed book,"—a state-

* *See Apologie pour Gabriel Naudé, by Charles Nodier* (*in his Mélanges tirés d'une petite Bibliothèque, Paris*, 1829, *chap.* 24).

ment which has given rise to a famous bibliographical quarrel. It was during his stay in Rome, that Naudé entered upon the wearying controversy over the authorship of *De Imitatione Christi*, and it was while there that he espoused the cause of Campanella.

But it is not for all these things that we love to remember Gabriel Naudé. The real work of his life was to come. Recalled to Paris by Cardinal Richelieu to become his librarian, he hastened to accept the post, and on the death of the great Cardinal he received the same office from his successor. This was in 1642, and the next ten years must have been the happiest of Naudé's

life. "Gormandizer of books" that he was, we can imagine the relish with which he rummaged the little old bookstores of Paris. His intimate friend, Vittorio dé Rossi, from whom we have many a choice bit of seventeenth century gossip, writes to the papal nuncio in Germany that if he should see "our Naudé" coming out of a bookseller's shop he would be convulsed with laughter at the figure the book-hunter cut, covered with cobwebs and dust, from which it would seem that nothing ever could free him.

Loving books keenly himself, and determined that his library should surpass that of his great predecessor, Mazarin shared the

zeal of his librarian. His generals abroad were charged to be on the lookout for choice volumes, and rulers and envoys knew that the gift of a rare book or an ancient manuscript was a powerful ally in gaining the favour of the great Cardinal.

Much has been said of Naudé's system of buying books. His plan was to take them in the gross by weight, not stopping to examine volume by volume. He disposed of the duplicates afterwards, often buying them for his own library, which was of considerable size and value. Rossi, describing his descent upon a bookshop, says that often, seeing a large accumulation of books,

he would demand the price of the lot, sometimes insisting on measuring the pile by the yard; that, after much dickering, he would usually get his own way, and often find that he had bought valuable books for less than he would have paid for pears or lemons. The poor shopkeepers usually suffered by these bargains, but Naudé never seems to have had any compunction on that score.

The famous three hundred and fifty folio volumes of manuscripts of Loménie de Brienne, bound by Le Gascon in flesh-coloured morocco, though obtained by questionable means, made a wonderful foundation for the

manuscript collection, while the purchase of the library of the bibliophile, Canon Descordes, provided six thousand well chosen printed books, largely on history and theology, already catalogued by Naudé.

In September, 1643, the books were ready for removal to the newly purchased Hôtel Tubeuf, about to be made famous by the treasures that Mazarin collected there. At the end of October the moving was completed, and every detail of the furnishing had been provided for. Naudé's manuscript accounts, still preserved in the library, show that even twine and a broom had been remembered. Twelve thousand

printed volumes and four hundred manuscripts were ready for use. The doors were thrown open, and on every Thursday, from eight till eleven and from two until five, the people were admitted freely to this the first public library in France. "It shall be open to all the world without excluding a living human soul," is Naudé's cry.

The only earlier public libraries in Europe were the Bodleian at Oxford, opened in 1603, the Angélique at Rome (1604), and the Ambrosian at Milan (1609).

The collection grew rapidly, and the resources of Paris being exhausted, Mazarin despatched

Naudé on his famous journeys through France, to Italy,—where the shops, according to Rossi, seemed devastated after he had passed as though by a whirlwind,—to Germany, and to England. Naudé undertook with joy the fatigues and perils of the way, for were they not to bring more renown to this "well-beloved daughter" of his heart?

Before very long the number of volumes was increased to forty thousand, many of them in elaborate bindings and bearing the arms of the Cardinal. It had been found necessary to give the library more room, and during the changes Naudé, mindful of the natural timidity of many men

of letters, and their unusedness to the surrounding splendour, had prevailed upon Mazarin to build a modest door which should admit them directly to the library, and was about to place over it an invitation in letters of gold, which should be plain to the most humble and embarrassed scholar.*

But the troubles of the Fronde began. Mazarin was forced to leave Paris, Parliament seized his possessions, and the sale of the books and manuscripts was threatened. It was at this point that the friendly Tubeuf attempted to save the library by seizing it himself as surety for

* *See pp.* 69, 70.

what Cardinal Mazarin owed him, and Naudé was called upon to deliver to him the keys. Nothing can exceed the simple pathos of Naudé's description of that sad task, a translation of which is given here. The small quarto of four pages, without a title, as it originally appeared, is extremely rare to-day.*

The reprieve was short, for eleven months later Parliament put a price on Mazarin's head, and ordered the sale of the library. Picture poor Naudé's distress! Only one resource was left him, to bend his pride and pray to the Parliament, which

* *See Surrender of Cardinal Mazarin's Library, pp.* 41–55.

he despised and hated, in behalf of this, "the work of his hands, the miracle of his life, his daughter." The eloquent appeal appeared in both French and English in 1652, and was translated into German two years later.* But the sale continued, and when Naudé realized that he must yield to the inevitable, he went about saving what he could from the disaster, buying the books on medicine himself, though he could ill afford to do so.

When the civil wars were over and Mazarin returned in triumph to Paris, one of his first cares was the reconstruction of the library.

* *See News from France, pp.* 61–75.

Naudé, meantime, unwilling to witness further the dispersion of his beloved collection, had fled from Paris and accepted the post of librarian to Queen Christina of Sweden. But nothing could keep him in Stockholm when he heard of Mazarin's determination, and he set out joyfully for Paris. The climate of Sweden, however, had been injurious to his health, already undermined by grief, it is said, and he could not endure the journey. He died at Abbeville on July 29, 1653; and one writer asserts that shortly before his death he received the Sacrament. His loss was felt throughout the literary world, and he was deeply mourned by

his friends. "I weep for him day and night," wrote Guy Patin in his *Letters*. Père Louis Jacob, another friend, gathered together the eulogies pronounced upon him in a volume commonly called *Tumulus Naudaei*, a witness to the warm affection and admiration which he inspired.

Naudé never married. His passion for books seems to have filled his heart to the exclusion of all others. "I cannot make up my mind to marry," we find him saying in *Naudaeana et Patiniana;* "that manner of life is too thorny and difficult for a man who loves study." His tastes were simple and modest, except in the matter of buying

books, and his habits abstemious. "Naudé lived a true philosopher," writes Cottelet, "having no ambitions other than to serve his master. His sobriety has become a proverb, and he showed himself deeply attached to Mazarin, who, in recompense for all his services, granted him only two small benefices, bringing a revenue of twelve hundred livres." Of his personal appearance we can judge through the portraits which have fortunately come down to us. "His expressive countenance affords the best index of his ardent mind," says Dr. Dibdin.

The chief literary production of the latter part of Naudé's life

—his greatest work, indeed—is his famous defence of his master against the attacks made upon him in the *Mazarinades*—the *Judgment of all that has been written against Cardinal Mazarin*, better known under the name of *Mascurat*. The quaint humour, the strong criticisms, and the frankness and ease of manner which characterize it show the author in a new light, and go far to make us forget the views of the *Coups d'État*.

By his will the medical books which Naudé had bought at the sale of the collection were returned to Cardinal Mazarin, who purchased the rest of Naudé's library, so that nearly all his

books are now in the Mazarin Library, many of them bearing the signature of the first librarian.

When it was known that the work of reconstruction had begun, Queen Christina returned all the manuscripts which she had bought, and others followed her example. In 1660 a large proportion of the losses had been recovered. The following year saw the death of the Cardinal, whose will provided for the founding of the *Collège de Quatre Nations* (commonly known by Mazarin's name), to which the library should be attached, but nearly thirty years elapsed before the books were

moved to their new home. The library was under the direction of the Sorbonne from 1688 to 1791; but since the Revolution it has been controlled by the state. Among its celebrated administrators may be mentioned MM. Petit-Radel, de Sacy, and Sainte-Beuve. For more than twenty years, until his resignation a few months since, the Mazarin's librarian has been the eminent bibliophile, M. Alfred Franklin, to whose history of the library we are indebted for most of the facts mentioned here. It is he who writes of Naudé as "above all the creator of our beautiful and beloved Mazarin Library."

It is fitting that one of the halls

of the Mazarin Library to-day bears the name of Gabriel Naudé, name dear to librarians, and his bust in marble has been placed in the midst of the collection to which he devoted so much loving care.

The following tribute is paid to Naudé by M. Albert de la Fizelière in his edition of *Rymaille sur les plus célèbres Bibliolières de Paris en* 1649:

"As long as there are in France men devoted to literature and to a discriminating love of books, Gabriel Naudé will remain the type of the model librarian. It is true that there were bibliophiles and bibliographers before his day, but the science of books had

not been coördinated. He was the first to set a proper standard for it, and, thanks to his encyclopaedic knowledge, he was able to make it take its place beside the science and letters of the seventeenth century on their lofty eminence."

One wonders when, in his short and busy life, Naudé found time to write so many books. Including the works which he edited, nearly one hundred pieces have been attributed to him, the subjects showing the scope and variety of his learning.

RUTH SHEPARD GRANNISS

New York, September 1, 1906

SURRENDER OF THE LIBRARY OF CARDINAL MAZARIN

The following was translated by Miss Victoria Richmond, of the Newark Free Public Library, and Mr. John Cotton Dana, from Histoire de la Bibliothèque Mazarine par Alfred Franklin. Deuxième édition. Paris, 1901. This is the first publication of an English translation.

SURRENDER OF THE LIBRARY OF CARDINAL MAZARIN

We reproduce, in its entirety, this curious document, a copy of which it is now almost impossible to find. The original is a quarto of four pages and bears no title. The title which we give it is taken from the catalogue of all the works of Gabriel Naudé, published by L. Jacob at the end of the Tumulus Naudæi.

TO-DAY, February 14th, 1651, a certain Mathieu, attendant in waiting at the palace of Monsignor the Most Eminent Cardinal Mazarin, came to my lodgings in the court of the Abbey of St. Geneviève to inform me that Monsieur Tubeuf, president of the Chamber of Ac-

counts, had asked for me on the evening of the preceding day, and had given orders that I be told to go to him as early in the morning as possible.

I went, accordingly, at eight o'clock, to the house of the said Sieur Tubeuf, at the rear of the Palais-Royal, near the knoll of St. Roch. Having learned from the porter that the said Sieur had not yet risen, I proceeded to the palace of Monsignor the Cardinal, my master, where a man named Annet, attendant of the wardrobe, told me that Monsieur Tubeuf had taken possession of the palace and of all that was contained therein as security for the sum of six hundred and eighty thousand livres which was

owed him by His Eminence, and that he had sent for me to get for him the keys of the library. This obliged me to go to the Palais-Royal in order to learn from Monsieur Euzenat, steward of the house of the said Seigneur [Mazarin], what I must do under the circumstances. The said Sieur Euzenat told me that Monsieur Tubeuf had come on the previous day to speak with him in his room in the Palais-Royal, and had begged him to approve of the above-mentioned seizure, that the money due him might be assured to him.

Sieur Euzenat replied to this, so he told me, that he well knew that His Eminence would never allow anyone to suffer any loss,

and him (Tubeuf), even less than any other; and that he could proceed in the affair in whatever manner seemed to him most helpful or needful for his security. Sieur Tubeuf then begged him to come and make formal acknowledgement of the seizure of the property at the palace of His Eminence. But Sieur Euzenat excused himself on the plea that he had business with Monsieur de Massac, who was present, which would make it impossible for him to go; adding, however, that he would send Monsieur le Normand, to whom the property could be delivered. He told me also that he was all the more willing to consent to the seizure, as it might be the means of pro-

tecting the palace and the little that still remained in it from the fury and violence of the people, if, by chance, they were inclined to make any disturbance in case the King left Paris, or for any other reasons which it would be difficult either to foresee or to avoid. Moreover, he said, he could not see how I could object to having the library treated like the rest of the palace, since, in any case, the said Sieur Tubeuf was legally entitled to attach it. Also, he added that, as he (Tubeuf) was a good friend of our master, it was wiser to deal with him civilly than with any rudeness or show of force.

After this I returned to the Mazarin palace and found there

Monsieur Tubeuf, who was accompanied by an attorney named Blanc, a bailiff named Barbault, who was making an inventory of everything in the palace that belonged to His Eminence, and by Monsieur Petit, an old servant of Sieur Tubeuf, who carefully locked each room after it had been visited, and retained the keys. He told me, as soon as we met, that he sent for me to get from me the keys of the library, since he had taken possession of the palace and everything it contained. I replied, that I would give them to him more willingly than to any other man in the world, in view of the good friendship he had always shown toward Monsignor the Cardinal;

that the latter would favourably remember him, in case it pleased God to recall him to Paris; that if he did not return, I believed, nevertheless, that friendly relations would always exist between them; and that I was sure that he, Monsieur Tubeuf, would do nothing in this affair that would in any way displease him.

I then led him to the large hall where the small wing joins the main building, opened it for him, and, after having shown him that it was full from top to bottom with books on civil law and philosophy in folio, and of books of theology in quarto, I closed the door and locked it fast with a double turn, and delivered the key, by order of the said Sieur

Tubeuf, to the said Sieur Petit.

From there I led him to the first mezzanine floor of the three large rooms which are on a level with the wardrobe, and, after having called his attention to the fact that it was entirely filled with books on medicine, chemistry, and natural history, in volumes of all sizes, showing him also that many were piled on the floor for lack of room on the shelves, I closed the door and locked it fast with a double turn, and gave the key to the said Sieur Petit.

Then I took the said Sieur Tubeuf to the second mezzanine floor, full of Bibles in all languages; to wit, Greek, Hebrew, and other Oriental tongues, Lat-

in,—in old and recent editions,—French, Italian, Spanish, German, Flemish, English, Dutch, Polish, Hungarian, Swedish, Finnish, Welsh, Hibernian, and Rutenian, together with other manuscripts to the number of about two hundred, and commentaries on the Bible in volumes of all sizes; and having closed and locked that room fast with a double turn, I gave the key to the gentleman already named.

Then I showed him the third mezzanine floor, full of books in manuscript, Hebrew, Syriac, Samaritan, Ethiopian, Arabic, Greek, Spanish, Provençal, Italian, and Latin as varied in their subjects as they were in their forms. And having locked it fast

and delivered the key as before, I led him up to the main library, and opened for him the first room, which is very high and filled from floor to ceiling with books on canon law, politics, and other miscellaneous subjects.

Passing from this first room to the second, I showed him that it was full, like the first, of Lutheran, Calvinistic, Socinian, and other heretical books in all languages, with many Hebrew, Syriac, Arabian, Ethiopian, and Oriental books of all sorts, and that here also many had been piled on the floor for lack of room on the shelves.

Finally I led him to the two rooms in the large gallery, each about fifty or sixty feet long,

where was all the history, ecclesiastic and profane, universal and special, of every nation; the three hundred and fifty volumes of manuscripts in folio, bound in flesh-coloured morocco, collected by Monsieur de Loménie; books on mathematics to the number of about thirty-five hundred volumes; the Fathers, Scholastics, controversies, sermons, books of the Louvre press, and almost all of the humanities; together with more books piled on the floors than could be contained in three rooms of a like size, and many large volumes of charts, prints, travels, voyages, tariffs, etc.

Then I showed him how the door on the side toward the ter-

race was locked fast and firmly secured with bolts extending across it above and below. And then, having brought him out of the said gallery and the two rooms just mentioned, which are joined to the gallery by the door on the level with the wardrobe by which he entered, I closed and locked it fast with a double turn, and delivered the key to the said Sieur Petit, for the fifth and the last time.

And having implored the said Sieur Tubeuf to use the utmost care to prevent as far as possible the dissipation of this the most beautiful, the best and the largest library which had ever been brought together in the world, containing, to my own know-

ledge, more than forty thousand volumes, of which more than twelve thousand were in folio, I withdrew, with tears in my eyes at the thought that the public was on the eve of being deprived of so great a treasure, and that the noble intentions of His Eminence were being so ill repaid that, instead of raising monuments to him for the many victories gained and the many cities taken through his efforts; and for having so successfully administered the affairs of France in the many storms and tempests through which she had passed; and for having so faithfully served and so vigorously defended the authority of the King and his mother, in her quality of

Regent, they talk now only of banishing him, of proscribing him, of stoning him, as though he were the sworn enemy of France.

They condemn him without any form of trial, they incite the lower classes to persecute him, they pursue his friends and servants as though they were enemies of the country, and they forget no insult they can offer to the best man in the world and the most faithful and the most devoted Minister of State France has ever had. God knows the cause of all these disorders, as well as of the factions which now embroil this kingdom, and when the enemies of the Cardinal have reached the height of their in-

iquities, He will know how to justify the innocent and punish the guilty.

G. N.

NEWS FROM FRANCE

OR

A DESCRIPTION OF THE LIBRARY

OF

CARDINAL MAZARIN

BEFORE IT WAS UTTERLY RUINED

NEWS FROM FRANCE

OR

A DESCRIPTION OF THE LIBRARY OF CARDINAL MAZARIN BEFORE IT WAS UTTERLY RUINED

SENT IN A LETTER FROM MONSIEUR G. NAUDAEUS, KEEPER OF THE PUBLICK LIBRARY

LONDON
PRINTED FOR TIMOTHY GARTHWAIT
AT THE LITTLE NORTH DOOR
OF ST. PAUL'S
1652

[*Quarto, containing six pages*]

Naudé's plea to Parliament for the preservation of the Mazarin Library appeared in French and in English in 1652, *the French title reading: Avis à Nosseigneurs de Parlement, sur la vente de la Bibliothèque de M. le Cardinal Mazarin.* (*Quarto*, 4 *pp.*) *In* 1654 *it was translated into German under the title: Vermahnung an die Parlements-Herrn in Paris über die Verkauffung der Bibliothek des Herrn Cardinalis Mazarini. It was reprinted, in* 1819, *by L. C. F. Petit-Radel, in his Recherches sur les Bibliothèques anciennes et modernes. The present rendering is from The Harleian Miscellany, London*, 1808–13, *vol.* 6, *pp.* 265–8.

TO THE PARLIAMENT OF PARIS

GENTLEMEN: Since all the ordinances of your famous company are like thunderbolts, which dash in pieces each person whom they strike, and make dumb or astonish every one that sees them fall: Give me leave to tell you, yet with all respects and submissions possible, that what you thundered out on the twenty-ninth of the last, against the library of the most eminent Cardinal Mazarin, my master, hath produced those two effects, with so much force and violence, that forasmuch as concerns the said library, it is not likely it should ever recover those losses which it hath already

suffered, nor yet avoid those wherewith it is still threatened, unless by some very remarkable effect of your singular goodness and protection.

And, as for me, who cherish it as the work of my hands and the miracle of my life, I protest to you ingenuously, that, since that stroke of thunder—which was cast from the heaven of your justice upon a piece so rare, so beautiful, so excellent, and which I have by my watches and labours brought to such perfection as none can morally desire a greater—I have been so extremely astonished, that if the same cause which once made the son of Croesus, though naturally dumb, to speak, did not now un-

tie my tongue to utter some sad accents,—my last complaints, at the decease of this my daughter, as he there did, in the dangerous estate wherein he found his father,—I should remain eternally dumb. And, in truth, gentlemen, since that good son saved the life of his father, in making them know wherefore he did it, why may not I promise myself, that your benevolence and ordinary justice will save the life of this daughter, or, to speak plainer, this famous library, when I shall in few words have represented to you an abridgement of its perfections, being the most beautiful and the best furnished of any library now in the world, or that is likely, if affec-

tion do not much deceive me, ever for to be hereafter? For it is composed of more than forty thousand volumes, collected by the care of several Kings and Princes in Europe, by all the ambassadors that have set out of France these ten years, into places farthest remote from this kingdom. To tell you that I have made voyages into Flanders, Italy, England, and Germany, to bring hither whatever I could procure that was rare and excellent, is little in comparison of the cares which so many crowned heads have taken to further the laudable designs of His Eminence. It is to these illustrious cares, gentlemen, that this good city of Paris is beholden for two

hundred Bibles, which we have translated into all sorts of languages; for an history that is the most universal and the best followed of any yet ever seen; for three thousand five hundred volumes, purely and absolutely mathematical; for all the old and new editions, as well of the holy fathers, as of all other classick authors; for a company of schoolmen, such as never was the like; for lawyers of above an hundred and fifty provinces, the most strangers; above three hundred bishops concerning councils; for rituals and offices of the church, an infinite number; for the laws and foundations of all religious houses, hospitals, communities, and confraternities; for rules and

practical secrets in all arts, both liberal and mechanick; for manuscripts in all languages, and all sciences. And to put an end to a discourse which may never have one if I should particularise all the treasures which are heaped together within the compass of seven chambers, filled from top to bottom, whereof a gallery, twelve fathoms high, is reckoned but for one; it is to these illustrious royal personages, that this city of Paris, and not Paris only, but all France, and not France only, but all Europe, are indebted for a library. Wherein, if the good designs of His Eminence had succeeded as happily as they were forecast wisely, all the world should before this have

had the liberty to see and turn over, with as much leisure as benefit, all that Egypt, Persia, Greece, Italy, and all the kingdoms of Europe, have given us, that is most singular and admirable. A strange thing, gentlemen, that the best furnished lawyers were constrained to confess their want, when they saw the great collection that I had made of books, in their profession, in this rich library. That the greatest heap of volumes in physick were nothing, compared with the number of those which were here gathered in that faculty. That philosophy was here more beautiful, more flourishing, than ever it was in Greece. That Italians, Germans, Span-

iards, Englishmen, Polonians, Dutch, and other nations, found here the histories of their own nations, far more rich and better furnished than they could find in their several native countries. That Catholicks and Protestants might here try all sorts of passages in authors, and accord all manner of difficulties. And to accumulate all these perfections, to enhance them, and set them in their true lustre; is it not enough, gentlemen, to shew you assured proofs of His Eminence's intentions, that he resolved to present it to the publick and to make it a common comfort for all poor scholars, religious persons, strangers, and for whoever is learned or curious, here to find

what is necessary or fit for them? Is it not enough, gentlemen, to shew you the inscription, which should have been put upon the gate of the library, to invite the world to enter with all manner of liberty, and which should have been set up about three years ago, if wars, and domestick dissensions, had not prejudiced the good intentions of His Eminence? It is this:

LUDOVICO XIV, FELICITER IMPERANTE, ANNA AUSTRIACA, CASTRORUM MATRE AUGUSTISSIMÁ REGNUM SAPIENTER MODERANTE, JULIUS, S. R. E. CARDINALIS MASARINUS, UTRIQUE CONSILIORUM MINISTER ACCEPTISSIMUS, BIBLIOTHECAM HANC OMNIUM LINGUARUM, ARTIUM, SCIENTIARUM, LIBRIS INSTRUCTISSIMAM, URBIS SPLENDORI,

GALLIARUM ORNAMENTO, DISCIPLINARUM INCREMENTO, LUBENS, VOLENS, D. D. D. PUBLICÈ PATERE VOLUIT, CENSU PERPETUO DOTAVIT, POSTERITATI COMMENDAVIT

MDCXLVIII*

Behold, Gentlemen, an inscription that may now be called an-

* *In the prosperous reign of Louis XIV, during the wise regency of Anne of Austria, most august mater castrorum, Julius Mazarin, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, a minister most pleasing to both councils, in his own good will wishing this library, so rich in books of all languages, arts, and sciences, to be an honour to the city, an ornament to France, and a promoter of knowledge, determined that it should be open to the public and, consecrating it as a gift, endowed it with permanent wealth and commended it to posterity.* 1648.

cient; for it is long since it was first spoken of; and though it contain many things, I can assure you, that His Eminence intended somewhat more in his generous design of founding a publick library in the midst of France, under the direction and protection of the prime presidents of three sovereign courts of this city, and of the lord attorney-general, persuading himself, that, by this means, so potent and venerable, posterity would perpetually enjoy a very advantageous pledge; and such as, without disparagement to the famous libraries of Rome, Milan, and Oxford, might pass, not only for the most goodly heap of books that this age can shew,

but likewise for the eighth wonder of the world.

And this being true, as I am ready to swear upon the Holy Gospels, that the intention of His Eminence was always this, as I tell you; Can you permit, gentlemen, the publick to be deprived of a thing so useful and precious? Can you endure that this fair flower, which yet spreads its odour through all the world, should wither in your hands? And can you suffer, without regret, so innocent a piece, which can never suffer but all the world will bear in a share in its loss, to receive the arrest of its condemnation from those who were appointed to honour it, and to favour it with their protection?

Consider, gentlemen, that when this loss hath been suffered, there will not be a man in the world, though he have never so much authority in publick employment, never so much zeal to learning, that will be able to repair it. Believe, if you please, that the ruin of this library will be more carefully marked in all histories and calendars, than the taking and sacking of Constantinople. And, if my ten years' toil in helping to gather such a work; if all the voyages which I have made for materials to it; if all the heavy cares that I have taken to set it in order; if the ardent zeal that I have had to preserve it to this hour, are not means sufficient to make me hope for some favour

at your singular goodness; especially at this time, when you have the same excellent occasion to shew it towards this library, which you had three years since, when, by a solemn arrest or ordinance, you resolved it should be preserved, and that I should have the keeping of it; Yet give me leave, gentlemen, to have recourse to the muses, seeing they are so far concerned in the preservation of this new Parnassus, and joining the interest they have in you, with my most humble prayers, speak to you in the same language which the Emperor Augustus used, when the question was, Whether Virgil's Aeneids should be destroyed or saved? Which, doubtless, was

not so inimitable a piece to them, as this library will be to all posterity.

— Solvetur litera dives?
Et poterunt spectare oculi, nec parcere honori
Flamma suo; dignumque operis servare decorem?
Noster Apollo veta! Musae prohibete Latinae!
Sed legum est servanda fides, suprema voluntas
Quod mandat fierique jubet, parere necesse est,
Frangatur potiùs legum veneranda potestas,
Quam tot congestos noctésque diésque labores,
Hauserit una dies, supremaque jussa senatûs.

Must such a rich and learned work be dissolv'd,
Can eyes with patience see't in flames involv'd?
Methinks the flames should spare it, sure the fire
(More merciful than men) will sav't intire.
Ah, sweet Apollo, hinder! Muses, stay
Their violence! And what though fond men say
"It is decreed; the ordinance is made;
The will of supreme power must be obey'd"?
Rather let laws be broke, let reverend power
Lie prostrate, ere't be said, that in one hour,
A work so toil'd for many years, was late
Quite ruin'd by commandment from the state.

GABRIEL NAUDAEUS, A PARISIAN

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SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

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